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won the

BATTLE *of* BRITAIN

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he sacked?

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BATTLE OF BRITAIN



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Polish aircrew made up the second largest nationality among The Few. Proportional to their numbers, Polish battle successes and losses were higher than for any other nationality. Our design lists all the Polish aircrew killed in action, beneath the symbol of the Polish airforce and the words 'For Freedom'.



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While the Spitfire was the glamorous star of the Battle of Britain, the Hurricane was by far the more numerous. Our design celebrates the massive contribution made by this plane and its brave pilots in the summer and autumn of 1940.

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WELCOME

WITH **DR NEIL FAULKNER**



ON THE COVER: A portrait of Air Vice Marshal Keith Park, with a depiction of the Battle of Britain in the background.

Image: Alamy Images

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Keith Park. The man who won the Battle of Britain. Yet he was sacked in November 1940, went unmentioned in the 1941 official history, and had no statue until one was unveiled in Waterloo Place in London in 2010.

It is as if Henry V's role at Agincourt, Marlborough's at Blenheim, or Wellington's at Waterloo had been largely hidden from history. As if the Battle of Britain – equally decisive and iconic – had no great commander at the helm.

In this issue, as we approach the 75th anniversary of the battle, we assess Park's extraordinary role and the reasons for his subsequent eclipse.

Our special feature focuses on German naval strategy at the outbreak of the First World War. Bernard Ireland is our guide, analysing the evolution of a new 'world power' policy under Kaiser Wilhelm and Admiral Tirpitz in the 20 or so years before 1914, then providing a case-study in armoured-cruiser warfare by charting the career of the *Königsberg*.

Also this time, we have Julian Spilsbury's account of the little-known Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-1816 – the war against the Gurkhas two centuries ago that led to them becoming a permanent part of the British Army. And Robbie MacNiven takes us further back in time, to 1691, to narrate the Battle of Aughrim, the bloodiest in Irish history.

Neil Faulkner.

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ADD US NOW
and have your say



CONTRIBUTORS THIS MONTH'S EXPERTS



ROBBIE MACNIVEN

is enrolled in the War Studies program at Glasgow University. His key interest is Early

Modern conflicts and he volunteers at the Culloden Battlefield centre.



JULIAN SPILSBURY

is a former army officer, who has written for radio and TV, as well as lecturing on mili-

tary history. He conducts battlefield tours in Europe, Russia and India.



DAVID PORTER

became an author after working for the MoD for almost 30 years. Nine of his books on the Second World War

have been published, together with numerous magazine articles.



PATRICK BONIFACE

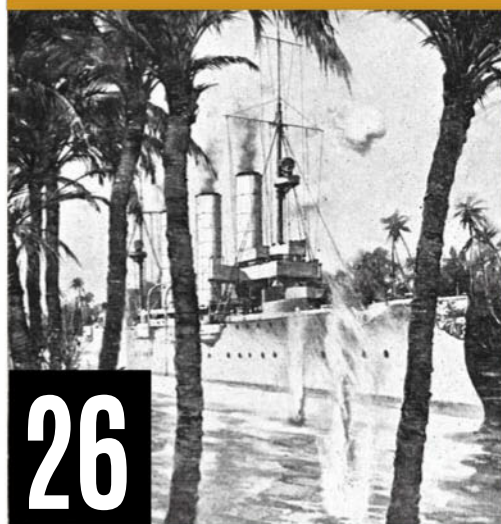
is a freelance journalist who specialises in naval history and has published

a number of books profiling Royal Navy destroyers and frigates.

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The Kaiser's war at sea

For our special feature this month, we investigate Germany's naval strategy in WWI, with a focus on the SMS *Königsberg*.

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The man who won the Battle of Britain

Neil Faulkner assesses the achievements of Air Marshal Keith Park, his intrinsic role in the victory in 1940, and why he was sacked soon after.



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The battle for the Gurkha Kingdom

Julian Spilsbury reports on the Battle for Nepal 200 years ago, when the Gurkhas and the British were fierce enemies.



50 Ireland's bloodiest battle Aughrim, 1691

Robbie MacNiven tells the tale of this little known but decisive battle.



MILITARY HISTORY MONTHLY

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JOURNEYS OF REMEMBRANCE

BESPOKE TOURS WITH THE ROYAL BRITISH LEGION



NORTHERN ITALY

70th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Italy with Peter McLelland.

Wednesday 02 - Wednesday 09 September 2015

- 7 nights half board • from £1295 per person
- Single supplement £99 • Deposit £200

This tour to Northern Italy remembers those who gave their lives in the advance to and breaking of the Gothic Line, and the first and second battles of Coriano to the Rimini gap. Accompanied by an experienced Royal British Legion guide, it will take you to many of the places where the action was centred and will give you the opportunity to visit the cemeteries where the fallen were laid to rest.

In addition, you will also have the opportunity to take an optional excursion to San Marino and Venice. (Subject to minibus numbers)

www.arenatravel.com/our-holidays/royal-british-legion-tours/view/northern-italy



THE JOURNEY OF THE UNKNOWN WARRIOR

Friday 06 - Tuesday 10 November 2015

- 4 Nights Bed and Breakfast • from £675 per person (twin share)
- Single supplement £100 per person • Deposit £200

In 1920, as part of the ceremonies in Britain to commemorate those who fell in the First World War, it was proposed that the body of an unknown soldier, sailor or airman lying in an unmarked grave overseas should be returned to England for a burial in Westminster Abbey. This was done to exemplify all those who had died for their country, but whose place of death was unknown, or whose body remained undiscovered. During this journey of Remembrance, you will have the opportunity to follow the route which was taken by the brave soldier, starting from The Cemetery of St Pol in France, and ending in Westminster Abbey where his burial took place.

www.arenatravel.com/our-holidays/royal-british-legion-tours/view/the-journey-of-the-unknown-warrior

GALLIPOLI 2015 - THE CENTENARY TOUR

Sunday 20 - Sunday 27 September 2015

- 7 nights half board • from: £1995 per person • Single supplement £225 per person • Deposit £350

On this trip, we travel to the Gallipoli peninsula in Turkish Thrace to pay our respects to the brave men who fought between April 1915 and January 1916 during the Great War.

On this journey of remembrance, you will experience a classic Istanbul cultural tour including the famous Blue Mosque, Hagia Sophia and Topkapi Palace, whilst also visiting key locations such as Canakkale, ANZAC Cove, Gallipoli Kabatepe Simulation Centre, Suvla Bay and the Turkish Military Museum amongst others.

www.arenatravel.com/our-holidays/royal-british-legion-tours/view/gallipoli-2015



Remembrance Travel, the travel arm of The Royal British Legion, has been running tours since 1927 and is now working in partnership with Arena Travel on First World War & Second World War Journeys of Remembrance and anniversary events.

Whether you are an association, a group of friends or a club, we can also create a bespoke, personalised tour, which is unique to your needs. Call 01476 660 800

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27 May

Dunkirk veteran tells his story – very touching! #WWII #history #Dunkirk75 <http://tinyurl.com/omht2gg>

@MilHistMonthly

27 May

What has the US learned from its military history? <http://tinyurl.com/pgrlb6k>

@MilHistMonthly

25 April

To mark today's #AnzacDay, we post a full MHM feature by expert historian Peter Hart. Check it out. <http://tinyurl.com/nvh36fv>



FACEBOOK
www.facebook.com/MilitaryHistoryMonthly

14 May

To mark the 75th anniversary of the Dunkirk Evacuation, 50 vessels have made their way to France to recreate the enormous operation. <http://tinyurl.com/nvyn3xt>

8 May

Today is the 70th anniversary of VE Day, and, to mark it, we study this touching image of the ground crew at an RAF Bomber Command station, taken on that momentous day. <http://tinyurl.com/nuw3jtm>

7 May

On this day 100 years ago, the British liner *Lusitania* was torpedoed by a German submarine, killing over 1,000 civilians. Here is the

remarkable story of one of the survivors. <http://tinyurl.com/myysup3>



MHM

LETTERS

Your thoughts on issues raised in *Military History Monthly*

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LETTER OF THE MONTH

BRUNSWICK DOG-MEAT SCANDAL

I was introduced recently to *Military History Monthly* by my brother. He gave me a few back issues to read, one of which, last year, had an article on Waterloo. I am a North Irish Horse historian (TA Cavalry, Armoured Reconnaissance Squadron) and I visit friends at the Royal Irish Fusiliers Museum in Armagh, Northern Ireland, on a regular basis. After having read your article I happened upon the museum's small display on the Battle of Waterloo. A snippet of information from that campaign caught my eye, and appealed to my warped sense of humour.

Bracken Anderson Portadown, Northern Ireland

Brunswick Waterloo medal

Soldiers from Brunswick wore a black uniform & were known as the Black Legion. They were unpopular with the British because of their fondness for dog meat. Irishman Edward Costello of the 95th Rifles remembered one of their pets who fell victim to the Legion. The Rifles got their revenge by slicing the buttocks from some dead Frenchmen, smoking them and selling them as hams to the Brunswickers.

UNUSUAL TANK

I was delighted to see a really unusual photograph illustrating your article on the battle at Sidi Bou Zid in Tunisia in 1943 ('Sidi Bou

Zid', *MHM* 55). It was captioned, 'A US tank destroyer in action in Tunisia.' In 1941, with war looming, the US army became rapidly aware that it lacked any self-propelled artillery or anti-tank artillery to support its infantry or to keep up with its tank forces. At that stage, the M3 & M4 Lee/Grant or Sherman hulls had yet to become available, and an alternative was sought.

What was hit upon was to mount either the famous French 75 (75mm gun) or the 105mm howitzer on an M3 half-track, known by the designations T12 and T19 respectively, the T12 being designated a 'tank chaser', and the T19 self-propelled artillery.

The photograph really does illustrate just how vulnerable the crew of a T12 or T19 would be to ground- or artillery-fire: an M3 half-track offered very little armour protection, especially if you had to stand up to fire the gun.

My one quibble would be that the vehicle shown is actually a T19 with a 105mm howitzer, not a T12 with a 75mm gun; the giveaway is the recuperator on top of the barrel, a classic feature of the howitzer but not of the 75.



Notwithstanding that, full marks for producing an unusual picture of an unusual vehicle.

Bob Britnell

Canterbury

ROMANUS LIVED!

I recently read the June issue of *Military History Monthly*, which I picked up chiefly because of the article on the Byzantine Empire. Within the section is a timeline, which includes a snippet on the Battle of Manzikert in 1071. This states that Romanus IV Diogenes died on the battlefield. I have had an interest in the Empire for more than a decade, and as such have read works that contradict this, including Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* and John Julius Norwich's *Short History of Byzantium*. Alp Arslan did, indeed, win the battle, but Romanus survived. He was held by Arslan for eight days, and then was released with a promise to pay a ransom to the Seljuks. It was not until the following year that Romanus died, due to an infection caused by having his eyes removed at some point after being deposed following the battle.

Otherwise, the magazine was an entertaining and informative read.

Chris Halliday

Leigh



NOTES FROM THE FRONTLINE

Our round-up of this month's military history news

DUNKIRK FOOTAGE DISCOVERED

A set of historically significant films shot 75 years ago, during the evacuation of Allied forces from Dunkirk, have been discovered at the University of Manchester Library.

The reels of black-and-white footage capture key moments during Operation Dynamo, the rescue from Dunkirk of over 300,000 British and Allied

troops trapped by advancing German forces in 1940.

The films were shot by Lieutenant Philip Roderick Hall, who was serving aboard the destroyer HMS *Whitehall*, one of hundreds of naval vessels, merchant ships, and small boats that took part in the rescue.

The films, which have never been broadcast and have been seen by only a handful of people, were digitised by the North West Film Archive at Manchester Metropolitan University. The films can now be viewed on YouTube, while the original reels have been donated to the Imperial War Museum in London for specialist preservation.

Kay Gladstone, Curator at the Imperial War Museum, said,



'Historically the films are important because they capture key moments of Operation Dynamo. We see the camera pan across the scene of fire and smoke over Dunkirk town, with its distinctively painted lighthouse in the background.'

'The footage shows the rapid passage of arriving and departing destroyers, and one cross-channel ferry assisting in the evacuation. Meanwhile, a destroyer fires her rear anti-aircraft guns, and another appears so low in the water as to be sinking or aground.'



'We also see evacuated soldiers packed onto destroyers. All the while, other troops waited patiently on the beaches for their turn to be rescued.'

Lieutenant Hall shot these films during the Dunkirk evacuation, but there is also footage of him training as a Fleet Air Arm pilot prior to being killed in action on 14 June 1942.

The film can be viewed on the University of Manchester's YouTube channel.



'Refusing to Kill' launch

On this year's International Conscientious Objectors Day on 15 May, the Peace Pledge Union announced the launch of a new exhibition and online project. This launch is part of the ongoing Heritage Lottery Funded 'Objecting to War' project, dedicated to the 18,000 British Conscientious Objectors (COs) to military service during the First World War.

The exhibition 'Refusing to Kill' introduces visitors to the men who registered their commitment to peace after the introduction of conscription in 1916. It charts the development of conscientious objection from the protests and campaigns before the war, through the dark days of 1914-1918, and into the present.

The exhibition takes an in-depth look at the important

questions surrounding First World War Conscientious Objection: why did men refuse to fight, and what happened to them as a result?

The displays are supported by a wide range of teaching materials, supplementary resources, and an accompanying



book that is aimed at teachers around London.

A key part of the exhibition is one of the surviving copies of the *Winchester Whisperer*, a secret newspaper written by imprisoned objectors. Newly discovered, the *Winchester Whisperer*, which was written on toilet paper with smuggled pencils and ink, and passed stealthily from inmate to inmate, provided news, politics, and

humour in the face of adversity. Very few of these contraband newspapers survive, and 'Refusing to Kill' gives the public a rare chance to explore this unique and fascinating artefact. Alongside the exhibition, the web project 'Remembering the Men who said No' provides a vast and ever-expanding source of information on the individuals who made the brave and controversial decision to refuse conscription in 1916-1919.



Weapons of Waterloo

As the 200th anniversary commemorations of the Battle of Waterloo reach their peak, leading expert on historic weaponry Reverend Paul Wilcock has been displaying weapons and delivering lectures in some prestigious locations – one at the Tower of London, at the invitation of the Arms and Armour Society, and another at Apsley House, the London home of the Duke of Wellington.

One of Revd Wilcock's key themes is the disparity in quality between the edge weapons brandished at Waterloo by the French and by the British armies.

'The biggest distinction is that in Britain we didn't have a national manufactory, but individual manufacturers contracted to the government. As a result, there were often quality issues when weapons were used in the field. There are accounts of British weapons breaking on contact,' said Revd Wilcock.

For example, a letter home from E C Cocks, of the 16th Light Dragoons, states that,

'The sword you sent me broke into pieces the first time I had it in my hand, and I discovered a flaw about 22 inches from the handle.'

By contrast, France had a national manufactory at Klingenthal, near Strasbourg. It was established in the 1730s and remained operational until as late as 1966, surviving countless social and political upheavals through its long life.

The Napoleonic Wars were the last major conflict in which edged weapons featured heavily. They played an important role at Waterloo because of the huge numbers of cavalry who took part.

Paul Wilcock will be lecturing in London again for the 200th anniversary commemorations of the battle.



SOVIET PILOT MYSTERY

Over 70 years after their relatives visited Highland Perthshire, a group of Russians recently came to Blair Castle to see if they could shed light on the visit of a group of Soviet military airmen to the historic castle in 1943.

At the height of the Second World War, the soldiers had been receiving specialist training in secret at Errol Airfield for nearly an entire year between 1943 and 1944. While there is some detail about the soldiers' covert trip to Errol in 1943, there are no records available about their visit to Blair Castle.

The Soviet soldiers' trip is shrouded in mystery and the castle team are hoping that the military airmen's descendants will be able to provide some details about what happened on what would have been a rare trip to a Scottish castle.



Jane Anderson, Archivist at Blair Castle, said, 'We think that the pilots were perhaps granted a reward after completing their secret military training at Errol Airfield, and that reward was

to come up to Blair Castle for a rest and to see a bit more of Scotland. As the visit happened during the war, we have no record whatsoever of what they got up to while they were here, so we are very much looking forward to seeing if their families can solve the mystery of what they did while at the Castle.'

NEWS IN BRIEF

A fashionable tribute

To commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, Rampley & Co are launching a one-off silk pocket square. Available now, the pocket square is designed and printed



in the UK, and features the portrait 'Arthur Wellesley, First Duke Of Wellington' by Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830). The original painting can be found in the Wellington Collection at Apsley House in London. Co-founder Elliott Rampley said, 'We're very excited to be working on a really unique product that commemorates such an important figure in British history. Not only does this allow us to do something special around the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, but it fits nicely with our aim of creating truly special pocket squares unlike anything else available on the market today.'

Helicopter transfer

After careful consideration by its Collections Review and Disposals Recipient Selection Committees, the RAF Museum has announced the transfer of Saro Skeeter AOP.12 XM555 to North East Land, Sea, and Air Museums (NELSAM).



The Skeeter is a two-seat training and scout helicopter, which was produced by Saunders-Roe ('Saro') of Cowes and Southampton. It has the distinction of being the first helicopter to be used by the British Army Air Corps (AAC), and several Skeeter AOP.12s were operated by the Central Flying School of the Royal Air Force.

This particular example was ordered in 1957, and its service history was primarily with the AAC.

The Waddesdon Bequest

The Waddesdon Bequest, a superb collection of medieval and Renaissance treasures left to the British Museum in 1898 by Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild MP, will be redisplayed in a new gallery that opens on 11 June 2015. The gallery was made possible through a generous donation from the Rothschild Foundation. The new display will contain some of the most impressive objects in the British Museum's European collection, and will give fascinating historical insight into shifts in taste, the growth of the art market, and the development of forgery in response to demand from collectors in the 19th century. In addition, the redisplay will involve the most ambitious digital treatment of a permanent gallery by the museum.



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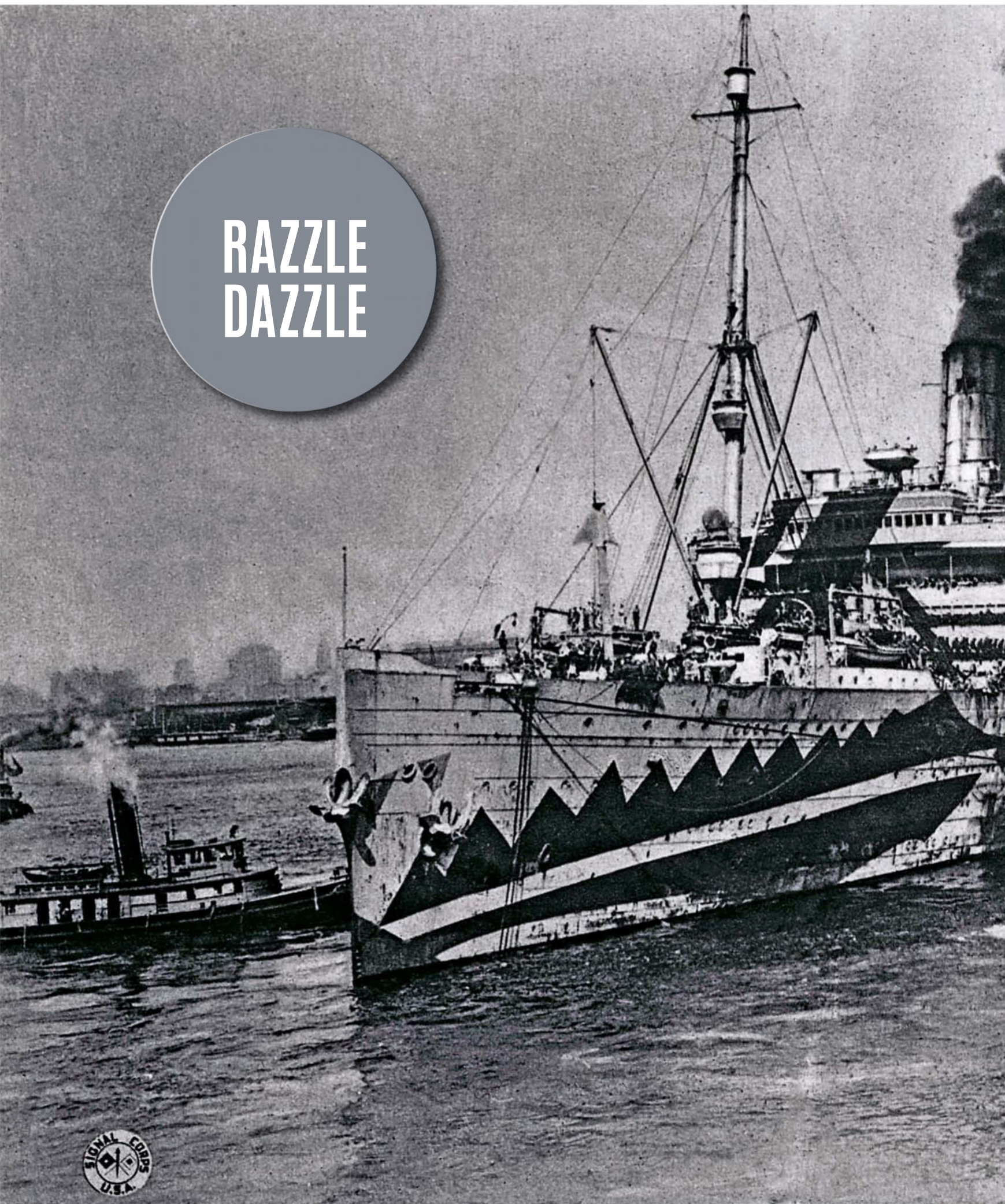


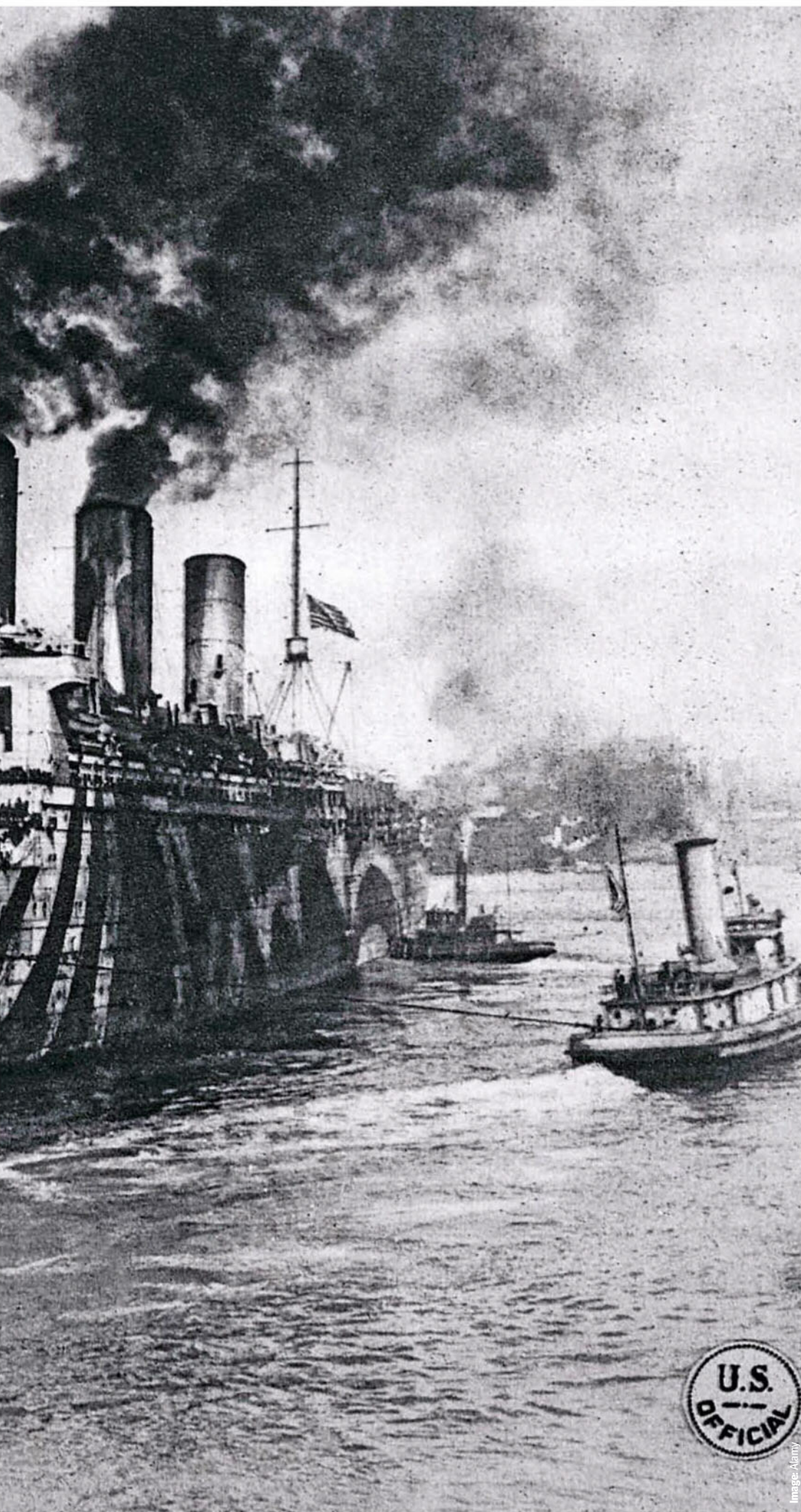
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editorial@military-history.org

RAZZLE DAZZLE





SS VATERLAND / USS LEVIATHAN

The SS *Vaterland* was one of three ships built in Hamburg by Blohm & Voss for the Hamburg-America Line shipping enterprise, which was set up to transport passengers across the Atlantic.

With its maiden voyage in 1914, *Vaterland* was in service for less than a year before the outbreak of the First World War brought a halt to its transatlantic voyages. Arriving in New York as the war began, the ocean liner was held up in New Jersey for three years.

When the United States entered the war, the US Navy seized the ship, renaming it the USS *Leviathan*. In this capacity, *Leviathan* worked as a troop carrier, taking US soldiers to England and France. In 1918, while having repair work done in Liverpool, the *Leviathan* was painted in dazzle camouflage, which she wore throughout the rest of the war.

A form of camouflage employed primarily during WWI, dazzle painting used large geometric shapes with contrasting colours to break up the natural lines of a ship's edges.

A hodgepodge of mismatched shapes and lines, intersecting and interrupting each other, the paint made it harder for the enemy to see a ship's direction of travel. Curves on the hull could be mistaken for the bow wave made by water against the prow of a fast-moving ship, and lines across smokestacks could obscure or distort a ship's apparent course. Different ships – even of the same type – had distinct patterns and colours, to further confuse the enemy and make classes of ships less instantly recognisable.

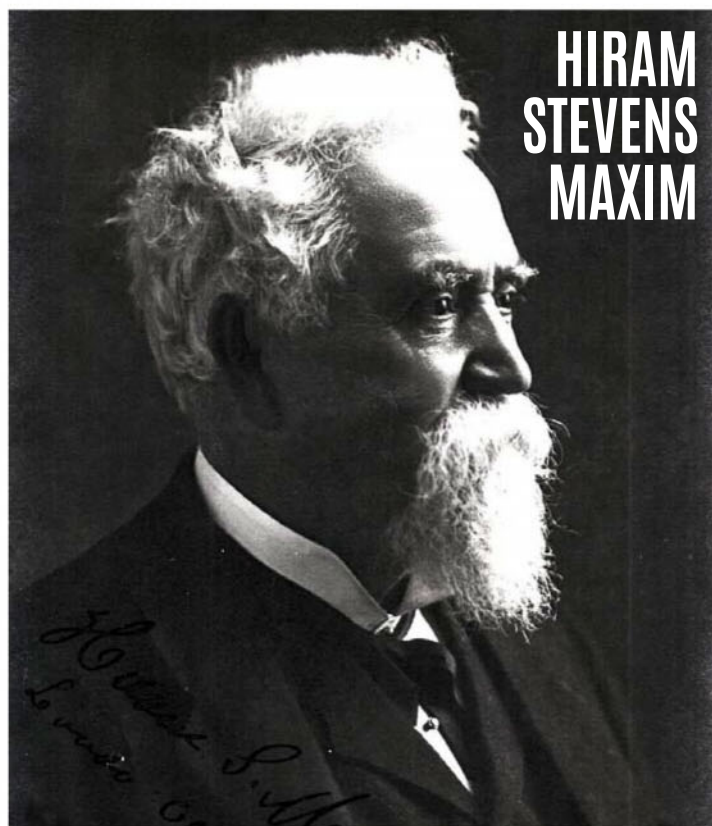
The idea of dazzle camouflage is credited to Norman Wilkinson, a painter trained in Cornwall and Paris, who spent his artistic life observing maritime subjects. Wilkinson has said the idea of dazzle was the opposite of traditional camouflage: its purpose was to confuse rather than to conceal. •



MHM

CONFLICT SCIENTISTS

Patrick Boniface considers the influence of science on warfare



“On one of the trials I fired 333 rounds in 35 seconds, and a belt of 2,000 cartridges in slightly over three minutes.”

Hiram Stevens Maxim

BIOGRAPHY

Born: 5 February 1840, Sangerville, Maine, USA; became a naturalised British citizen in 1900

Books: *A New System for Preventing Collisions at Sea, My Life*

Died: 24 November 1916, London

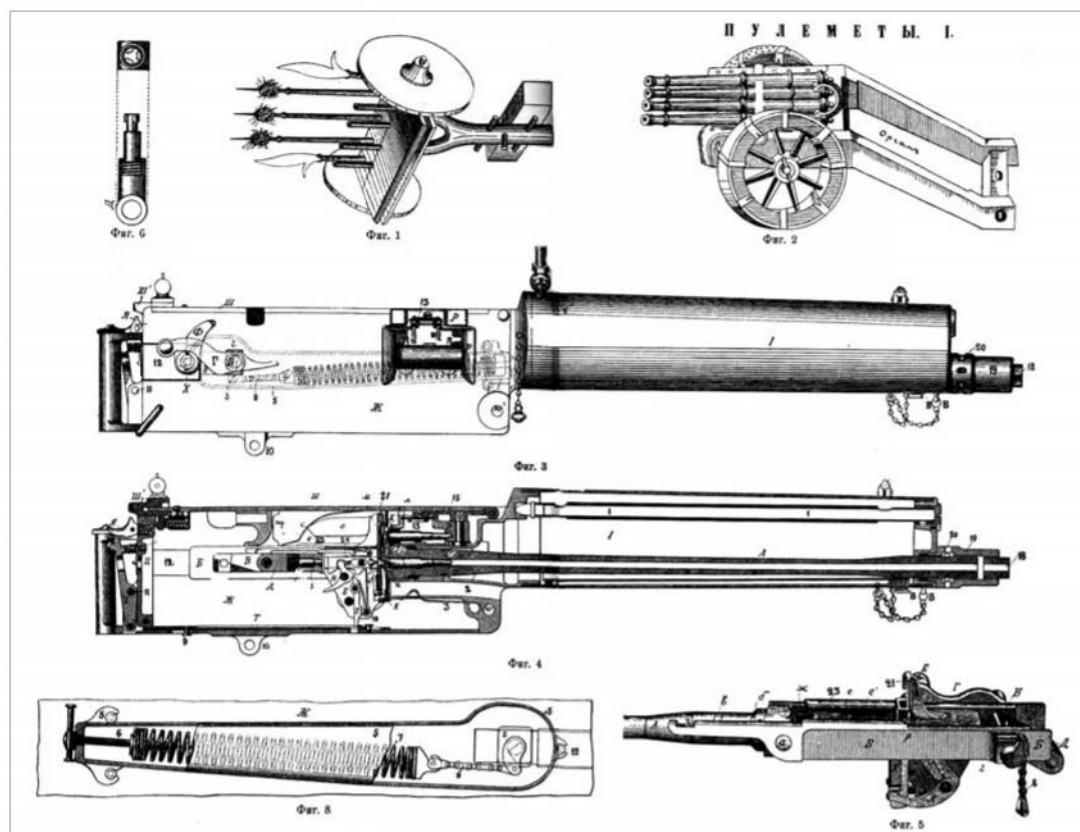
Known for: development of the Maxim machine-gun

Throughout his career Hiram Maxim dreamed up inventions to tackle everyday problems, including a hugely elaborate mousetrap, light bulbs, and even a Captive Flying Machine amusement ride, designed as a means to fund his research while simultaneously generating public interest in flight. In fact, this machine still exists on Blackpool Pleasure Beach.

Maxim's early career saw him apprenticed to a coachbuilder, aged 14, before becoming an instrument-maker and draughtsman. In 1881, at the age of 41, Maxim emigrated to England, principally in order to oversee the reorganisation of the London office of the US Electric Lighting Company.

The following year was to be the one that changed Maxim's career. In 1882, while on a business trip to

RIGHT Illustration of the Maxim gun from the *Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopedic Dictionary*.





LEFT Red Army soldiers with a Maxim machine-gun, c.1930.

Vienna, he met an American colleague who reportedly said to Maxim, 'Hang your chemistry and electricity! If you want to make a pile of money, invent something that will enable these Europeans to cut each other's throats with greater efficiency.'

RECOIL EXPERIMENTATION

Thus the process that led to the Maxim machine-gun was started. Maxim remembered as a child being overwhelmed by the recoil of his father's rifle. His inventive mind then

explored how to use this energy more effectively. For the next two years, Maxim experimented with gas, recoil, and blow-back methods of operating his new weapon. At his home in West Norwood, he finessed his design to close the breech and compress a spring by storing the recoil energy that is released by each shot.

Ever conscious of his neighbours, when he tested his machine-gun in his back garden, Maxim ran advertisements in the local press telling them to keep their windows

open to avoid broken glass. Once satisfied that his design worked, he got financial backing to develop it further from Edward Vickers at Crayford in north Kent. In 1897, Vickers Son and Maxim was founded, and the Standard Maxim machine-gun went on to be produced in its thousands for all sides during WWI.

Like many inventors associated with producing a deadly weapon, Maxim's other notable achievements are frequently overlooked. He suffered from bronchitis and produced a pocket menthol-inhaler, alongside a large 'Pipe of Peace' steam inhaler. He was often angered by colleagues who accused him of dabbling in quackery. 'It will be seen that it is a very creditable thing to invent a killing machine, and nothing less than a disgrace to invest an apparatus to prevent human suffering.'

Maxim's other contributions to modern life include a curling iron, magno-electric machines, coffee substitutes, and the world's first effective fire-suppressing water-sprinkler system.

His last few years were dogged by poor health and his business enterprises suffered as a result. He lived long enough to see his Maxim machine-gun's lethal capabilities put to full effect in the bloodbath of the Western Front. What he thought of its effectiveness is not recorded. Maxim died at his London home on 24 November 1916, at the age of 76, having placed his name securely in the histories of modern warfare. •

IN CONTEXT: MAXIM

The land of opportunity

The world into which Hiram Stevens Maxim was born was one for opportunists. A brilliant inventor with a good idea would prosper, and Maxim had an abundance of superb ideas for every conceivable facet of life, from domestic lighting to aviation and weapons of war.

The late 1800s had seen the Industrial Revolution transform the globe. Modern communications had already begun to make their mark. Telegraphy was making instant worldwide communication possible, but this did not prevent the international outbreak of numerous small-scale conflicts.

Maxim and his industrial backers could afford to sit back and watch as these skirmishes developed, knowing that they would be called on to provide armies with increasingly efficient, ever more destructive weaponry.

As an American, Maxim expected his country to provide him with everything he needed, and for the most part it did. But it was only when he crossed the Atlantic and established himself in elite society in London that his business began to thrive.

Timing is everything in business, and Maxim's timing was perfect: by the time the First World War started in 1914, the Maxim gun had already been sold to both sides. It would become one of the conflict's iconic weapons – as well as one of its most devastating.

5 QUOTES FROM MAXIM

“Heavier-than-air flight is surely the way to go. Yet birds combine lift and propulsion in the wing, and that's too subtle for us to mimic.”

“I made many calculations, and found that an aeroplane machine driven by a steam-engine ought to lift itself into the air.”

“More than half the Japanese killed in the late war were killed with the little Maxim gun.”

“I came to London, established a little workshop, and made a gun that fired and loaded itself by the energy derived from the recoil.”

“One day I was approached by three gentlemen interested in my gun. They asked if it would be possible for me to build a flying machine.”



FASHION TEXTILES AND

A new display at the Gallery for Russian Arts and Design (GRAD) is using textiles to explore the creative exchanges between East and West in the period from the late 1910s to the mid-1940s.

The first decades of the 20th century saw increasing experimentation in the field of textile design, often connected with issues of national identity. In the Soviet Union, for example, printed textiles were decorated with images of collectivisation and industrialisation – such as tractors and trains, rich harvests and electrification, sportsmen and pioneers – intended to communicate the state's utopian dream to a largely illiterate population.

By contrast, the Stehli Silks Corporation in America, inspired by the Paris Exhibition of Decorative Arts, busily created their 'Americana' prints between 1925 and 1927 as a challenge to the supremacy of French fashion. The thematic patterns – including skyscrapers, railways, stars and stripes, and tennis players – were created by artists, designers, and even celebrities. The images were stylised in a manner similar to the Soviet patterns, and were just as zealous in their celebration of a very different modern utopia.

1 HAPPY LANDINGS

This 1940s silk scarf was designed by Arnold Lever, chief designer for the scarf company, Jacqmar, based in London's Mayfair. *Courtesy of the Paul and Karen Rennie Collection, Folkestone, and GRAD.*

2 LONDON, 1944

This rayon scarf was designed by Polish expressionist painter Feliks Topolski for the Ascher Project. *Courtesy of the Paul and Karen Rennie Collection, Folkestone, and GRAD.*

3 LETTRES AUX SOLDATS FRANÇAIS

A rayon scarf symbolising the friendship between Britain and France, produced by Jacqmar in the 1940s. *Courtesy of the Paul and Karen Rennie Collection, Folkestone, and GRAD.*

FORWARD! PROPAGANDA

In Britain, notions of national identity were also explored through design. But it was not until the Second World War that the country saw a boom in the production of propaganda textiles.

Fabrics ranging from luxurious silk to plain cotton were emblazoned with patriotic messages and political slogans in a bid to bolster support for the war effort. Firms such as Mayfair-based Jacqmar produced countless propaganda designs, some even featuring the hammer-and-sickle emblem of the Soviet Union, Britain's war-time ally.

Meanwhile, Ascher commissioned well-known artists such as Henry Moore and Feliks Topolski to design a scarf collection. In 1946, these designs were shown at the first major British post-war exhibition of design: 'Britain Can Make It'.

The rarely seen items on display at this exhibition are on loan from the Victoria & Albert Museum, the Imperial War Museum, and the Museum at Central St Martins in London; the Paul and Karen Rennie Collection in Folkestone; and the Mayakovsky Museum in Moscow.

Here, *MHM* features ten intricately designed textiles from Britain, America, and Russia.



4 A GAME OF TENNIS

Created by American tennis player Helen Wills, this 1927 textile design was donated by the Stehli Silks Corporation. *Courtesy of the V&A Museum and GRAD.*

5 UNTITLED

A vivid textile design on airbrushed paper by Russian designer Ludmila Mayakovskaya, c.1920s. *Courtesy of the Mayakovsky Museum in Moscow and GRAD.*

6 SWITCH OFF THAT LIGHT

A Second World War British propaganda scarf, associated with J Clarkson, who worked for Jacqmar. *Courtesy of the Paul and Karen Rennie Collection, Folkestone, and GRAD.*

7



V FOR VICTORY

A British cotton scarf from the 1940s, printed with multiple 'V's to celebrate the Allied victory. *Courtesy of the Paul and Karen Rennie Collection, Folkestone, and GRAD.*

8

PEACE IN OUR TIME

The theme of this vibrant silk scarf was inspired by British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's speech from 1938. *Courtesy of the Paul and Karen Rennie Collection, Folkestone, and GRAD.*

9

VE DAY

This 1945 rayon scarf depicts the flags of the victorious Allied nations. *Courtesy of the Paul and Karen Rennie Collection, Folkestone, and GRAD.*

8



10

LONDON WALL

A rayon scarf from 1942. This is another of Arnold Lever's designs for Jacqmar. *Courtesy of the Paul and Karen Rennie Collection, Folkestone, and GRAD.*

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FASHION FORWARD! Textile Design: East and West

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9



10





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Park

THE MAN WHO WON THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN

It was a campaign rather than a battle. It lasted four months. It is remembered now as one of the defining moments in British history. Yet the man with the strongest claim to being the architect of victory in the Battle of Britain was sacked as soon as it was over. **Neil Faulkner** assesses the achievement of Air Vice Marshal Keith Park, commander of 11 Group, Fighter Command, in the long summer and autumn of 1940.

If ever any one man won the Battle of Britain, he did.' That was the judgement of Lord Tedder, Chief of the Air Staff, when Keith Park was obliged to retire (prematurely) from the RAF. Tedder continued: 'I don't believe it is realised how much that one man, with his leadership, his calm judgement, and his skill, did to save not only this country, but the world.'

Yet Park – and his chief, Hugh Dowding – were fired in November 1940 in what must be the most scandalous case of backroom politicking in the history of the Royal Air Force. For neither Park nor Dowding – unlike those who engineered their dismissal – were men of routine stamp.

Park was probably the greatest air-war commander of all time. Dowding's main role in the summer of 1940 was to support him in his role, leaving him free to make the critical decisions that determined the outcome of the Battle of Britain. He later said of Park: 'If it hadn't been for Keith Park's conduct in the battle, and his loyalty to me as his commander-in-chief, we should not be here today.'

In a sense, Dowding's main work was done before the battle started. He was the mastermind behind the most sophisticated air-defence system in the world at the time. When Britain came under massed aerial attack in July 1940, Dowding had the integrated system of radar, observer posts, communications, airfields, and fighter squadrons – though only just – to defend what had become the sole European outpost still resisting the Nazis.

THE COMMANDER AND HIS MEN

Park, on the other hand, was the combat commander. He was idolised by his men, who bitterly resented his dismissal. Wing Commander Beamish, the CO at North Weald, wrote to his commander expressing his regret at his going, saying 'this feeling is reflected from all ranks, and we all wish to serve under you in future'.

Group Captain Bouchier, the CO at Hornchurch, wrote that when Park had

'If ever any one man won the Battle of Britain, he did.'

Arthur Tedder, Chief of the Air Staff

come to 11 Group, 'we gained the one man above all others in our service who by his own infinite efforts and personal example would not only ensure ultimate victory, but inspire it.' With Park's departure, Bouchier had 'the feeling that so much heart is going out of the group'.

It was not that Park was 'one of the lads'. He was rather serious, aloof, and ascetic. But he was utterly without pretentiousness. He spoke directly and informally to his men, taking them into his confidence and listening to their ideas. He was keen to delegate and to support

his subordinates. 'He would say exactly what he meant in perfectly straightforward, loud, and clear language,' recalled Michael Crossley, one of Park's pilots, 'and we all had the greatest confidence in him as a leader. To hell with what jealous contemporaries might have thought about him, he was our boy all right.'

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Park continued to fly fighters, and took a great interest in their technological development. Air war is highly technical. A commander not fully abreast of the capabilities of his and the enemy's aircraft is liable to make serious mistakes. Much of the bitter 'big wing' argument (which we will come to later) reflected a lack of understanding of the nature of aerial combat on the part of Park's critics and detractors.

Long before Montgomery popularised the idea of 'going round the men', Park was doing this, driving or flying out to airfields under his command to visit pilots and ground crews, showing all-round interest and concern. The pilots were being lionised as the heroic defenders of Britain at the time, but Park took an equal interest in the mechanics, the operations-room staff, and the RAF auxiliaries and reservists.

THE FIGHTER PILOT

Park's relationship with the men and women of his command involved no affectation. He »

RIGHT A portrait of Air Vice Marshal Sir Keith Park while commanding RAF squadrons on Malta during September 1942.

Image: Alamy





ABOVE Park's chief, Hugh Dowding, who was also fired in November 1940.

BELOW RIGHT British fighter pilots waiting for the 'scramble' signal to ring. Park's men idolised him, and were bitterly resentful of his dismissal.

'If it hadn't been for Keith Park's conduct in the battle, we should not be here today.'

Hugh Dowding, Air Chief Marshal, Fighter Command

had come from below. Born in Auckland, New Zealand, the son of a geologist and an academic who had emigrated from Scotland, the young Park had been fascinated by the sea, and his first jobs were working as a purser on merchant ships.

Having served part-time in the New Zealand Territorials before 1914, he became a wartime artilleryman, starting in the ranks and working his way up, with service at Gallipoli and on the

Somme. Wounded in 1916, he was evacuated to England, and on his recovery entered the Royal Flying Corps.

The older Park understood and sympathised with the other ranks because he had once been one of them: though intolerant of incompetence and negligence, he had no time for pomposity or bullshit.

But he never needed to 'pull rank' because his standing was never in doubt. A first-class fighter pilot – his record was seven kills in 26 days during August–September 1917 – his prowess earned him wartime promotion first to flight commander, and then to leader of an elite fighter squadron. Deeply interested in all aspects of his new profession, he ended the war with a sophisticated understanding of the evolving art of aerial combat.

A CHEQUERED CAREER

Advancement was slow in the post-war RAF (as it had now become), and Park had the additional impediment that his health was problematic. He was sometimes shunted into back-room jobs, and at times his very survival as an air-force officer was in doubt.

Nonetheless, he was one of the first cohort of 20 officers selected for training at the new RAF staff college at Andover (1922–1923), he secured the command of 111 Squadron at Duxford (1927–1929), and later served as British air attaché to the South American states (1934–1936).

Along the way, Park had become heavily involved in the question of ADGB (the Air Defence of Great Britain), working at Uxbridge in charge of 'operations, intelligence mobilisation, and combined training' during a 15-month stint in 1926–1927. When he returned from South America, this again

became the focus of his work, though now in a far more senior position: as No.2 to Hugh Dowding at Bentley Priory, the headquarters of the newly formed Fighter Command.

His appointment had turned on a twist of fate. Arthur Harris – later head of Bomber Command – had been tipped for the post, but Harris wanted to go to Palestine and the new Mrs Harris's trousseau, the Chief of the Air Staff was informed, was 'entirely tropical'. Around this time, Park had one of his occasional bouts of illness, which ruled him out of the running for Palestine. So Harris went east, and Park went to Bentley Priory. This positioned him for the command of 11 Group in 1940. One wonders how things might have played out otherwise, and one cannot but muse on the role of the accidental in history.

AN ARCHITECT OF AIR-DEFENCE

Dowding and Park were never intimates. Their military partnership was not like that of, say, Lee and Jackson in the American Civil War. Both men were somewhat awkward and stand-offish, and Dowding notably prickly and insensitive. Yet both were dedicated professional officers who wanted the best for the service and saw exceptional qualities in one another: that was what mattered.

The bond between them was tightened by their agreement about air-defence tactics and its technological prerequisites, and by their distrust of some other senior officers who were both intellectually inferior and politically Machiavellian – of Trafford Leigh-Mallory, head of 12 Group, in particular; a distrust that would ripen into a full-blown crisis during the Battle of Britain, leading, eventually, to the dismissal of both Dowding and Park.





Park was interested in all aspects of air war. A good example of both his attention to detail and his working relationship with Dowding concerned the filter table.

Park's boffins convinced him that to have a single situation-map on which all incoming information was plotted would overload the map with uncertain and confusing detail and interfere with clear decision-making. Were the indicated aircraft friendly or hostile? Which sightings were mere duplications? And so on.

The solution was to create a separate situation-map with a full plot of all available information, whatever its nature and reliability, and only when queries had been checked to pass this 'filtered' information on to the main operations table.

Dowding did not agree. Park had a secret filter map set up in the basement at Bentley Priory. In exercises, Dowding noticed that 'his general situation-map seemed to be much more readable and his operations room far more quiet and well-regulated'. Park revealed his secret, and Dowding approved the change.

THE ESSENCE OF FIGHTER WARFARE

A crucial component of Park's thinking was that the basic tactical unit had to be the squadron, not the wing, that formations and tactics needed to be flexible, and that air-leaders had to be allowed a wide measure of independence and initiative. In essence, it was his view that the job of ground control was to vector fighters to where they were needed as quickly as possible, and, once they were there,

LEFT Park convinced Dowding of the efficacy of the 'filter table' system, where incoming information was plotted on one table before being 'filtered' through to the main operations table to avoid information overload.

to trust to the experience and skill of the squadron commander and his pilots.

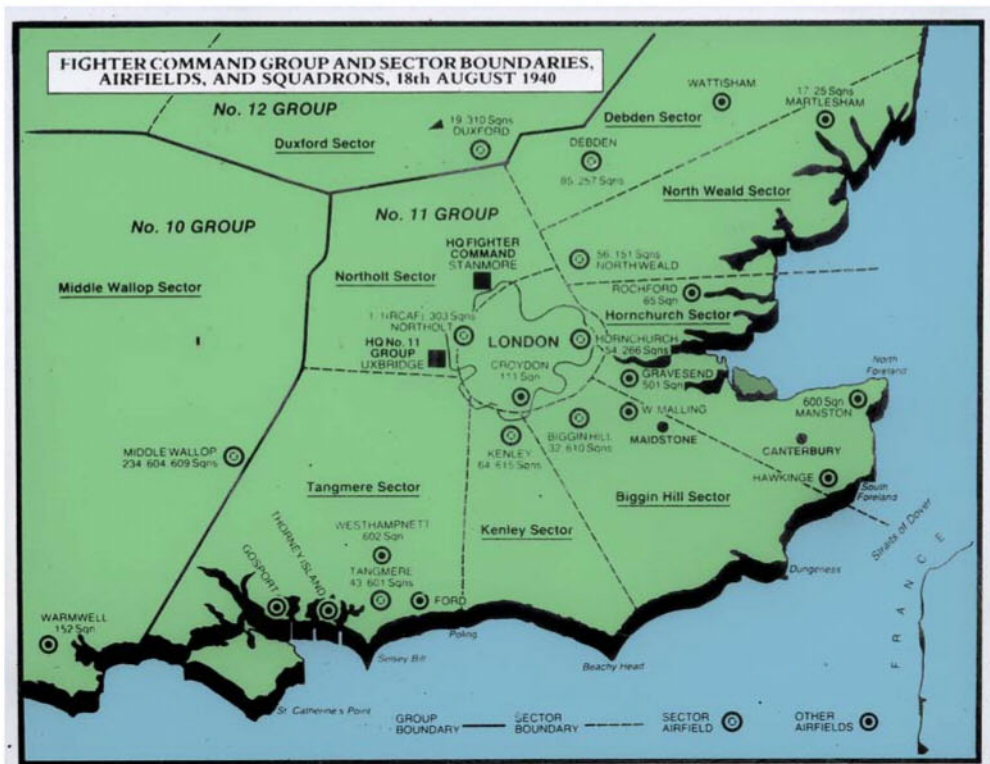
The basic problems with the alternative – assembling large formations and attempting to manoeuvre these through the air-space – were the loss of time involved and the loss of concentration on the enemy implicit in any attempt to maintain one's position in a 'big wing'.

The nub of Park's appreciation was this. The most advanced, high-tech early warning system, in the form of radar stations, command-and-control bunkers, and fighter airfields connected by telecommunications lines, and the equally advanced, high-tech weapons system represented by state-of-the-art fighters like the Spitfire and the Hurricane, had to be combined with the raw hunter-killer instinct and skills of the individual pilot.

Like Nelson, who wanted sailors and gunners trained to a peak of efficiency, but then planned a 'pell-mell battle' in which 'no captain can do very wrong if he places his ship alongside that of the enemy', Park believed fighter squadrons had to be allowed the freedom and flexibility to move fast, climb high, and strike with a single-minded determination to shoot down German planes. »

BELOW Two RAF Hawker Hurricane MK1 fighters from RAF 79 Squadron taking off from RAF Hawkinge, Kent, during the Battle of Britain. Park knew that however advanced the technology was, individual pilots had to be trusted to rely on their instincts in the air.





LEFT It was the most sophisticated air-defence system in the world at the time. Britain was divided into four groups, the most important of which was 11 Group, covering London and the South-East. Each group was subdivided into sectors, and each of these had a major sector airfield, perhaps one or more subsidiary airfields, and two or more squadrons under command. Information was received from radar stations and observer posts and processed at group headquarters. Orders were then issued to sectors, airfields, and squadrons.

The speed of the air-battle was the critical consideration. Both strategic and tactical movement were too rapid to allow precious time to be wasted on assembly, formation, and manoeuvre. Air-defence became a form of aerial guerrilla warfare, with squadrons operating in ones or twos across the air-space, and fighters in twos or threes once in combat.

11 GROUP

On 13 April 1940, Park received the news that he was to take over command of 11 Group. This was unexpected and welcome. Combat command – rather than service on the staff – was what he craved. And though it was not yet clear that 11 Group would soon form the front-line – as opposed to 12 Group, covering East Anglia and the Midlands, the natural targets for bombers setting out from Germany – because of its role in the defence of London and the South-East, it was considered to be the plum post in Fighter Command.

Within a month, he faced his first big test: supporting the British and French armies fighting the German invasion, and then covering the evacuation from Dunkirk at the end of May – but without committing (and risking) the full strength of his command in a losing battle. This was the subject of both political and military tensions.

The RAF simply did not have enough fighters and pilots to provide continuous patrols over the beaches, while at the same time remaining sufficiently concentrated to defeat Luftwaffe attacks. The twin demands of continuity and strength could not be met. Park's solution was to abandon continuous coverage and fly stronger patrols at intervals. The effect was to reduce British fighter losses and increase success in breaking up enemy bomber-formations.

But Dowding and Park's political masters were under pressure to provide better protection for British and French ground-forces, and for the Royal Navy, and relations became tense between Sinclair, the Air Minister, and

Balfour, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary, on the one hand, and Dowding and Park on the other.

The last Hurricane to fly over Dunkirk on 4 June was Park's. It was not the first time. The commander of 11 Group still regularly took to the air to see for himself. It was part of his leadership style, and part of his appeal. Returning to base, he knew that the greatest test was yet to come – and that, while a military battle had been lost, a political battle had been won that left Britain with a fighting chance.

'We all had the greatest confidence in him as a leader.'

**Michael Crossley,
11 Group fighter-pilot**



RIGHT A twin-propeller German Messerschmitt BF 110 or Me 110 bomber over the English Channel in August 1940. During what Park referred to as the first stage of the battle, the Luftwaffe attempted to draw out British fighters by attacking seaports and airfields.



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT

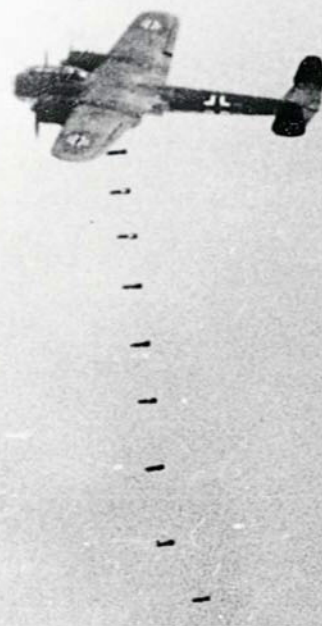
Photographs taken during the Blitz.

1. A dramatic scene of one of the biggest raids by German bombers on London, showing the docks on the River Thames and Tower Bridge illuminated by the fires that had been started in industrial districts of the East End by bomb blasts, 17 September 1940.

2. Clouds of smoke reflecting fires in Surrey Commercial Dock, again in east London, during a heavy raid by German bombers on the night of 7 September 1940, the day the Luftwaffe changed their tactics.

3. A German Messerschmitt Me 110 during a bomb run over England in September 1940.

4. The area around London's Leicester Square was severely damaged during a German air raid on 31 October 1940. The Leicester Square Cinema can be seen on the left.



THREE PHASES OF BATTLE

When he later reported on the Battle of Britain, Park divided it into three main phases. These were preceded by a minor phase, lasting from 10 July to 7 August 1940, during which Channel shipping was the primary target.

The first main phase, from 8-18 August, was dominated by Luftwaffe attempts to draw Fighter Command into aerial combat by attacking assets like seaports and airfields that it was bound to defend, so as gradually to degrade its capability.

This strategy failed for two reasons: the British air-defence system, and the skill of its principal commander.

The onslaught was massive in scale. Göring commanded around 1,300 bombers and 900 fighters, against Fighter Command's 650 operational fighters organised in 52 squadrons. The Luftwaffe mounted 1,485 sorties on the

first day, rising to 1,786 sorties by 15 August, with a final all-out effort on 18 August on what came to be regarded as the battle's 'hardest day'. But careful husbanding and deployment of force on the basis of first-rate intelligence rendered this battle of attrition unsustainably costly for the Germans. It is estimated that the British were shooting down four German planes for every one lost of their own.

The Luftwaffe came closest to victory during the second phase, 19 August to 5 September, when massive bomber formations, each protected by up to 100 fighters, crashed through the defences and inflicted heavy damage to radar stations, airfields, communications, and command-and-control centres. The aim was to destroy the Fighter Command infrastructure that had been responsible for victory in the first phase.

By the end of the first week of September, the loss ratio had evened up: the Luftwaffe

was now losing only three planes for every two it shot down. Though Britain's aircraft factories were making good the losses in planes, Fighter Command was losing pilots far more quickly than they could be replaced. Dowding concluded the RAF was losing the battle. 'You must realise', he told the Assistant Chief of the Air Staff at a tense meeting, 'that we are going downhill.'

Then, on 7 September, the Luftwaffe switched targets, wrong-footing Park's defence, and launched a massive bombing-raid on London. For seven hours, wave after wave of bombers flew over the capital in the first day of what became 'the Blitz'.

Park was always clear: that was the day the Germans lost the Battle of Britain. Though the third phase lasted from 6 September to 31 October – and the Blitz for much longer – Fighter Command was granted the space it »



ABOVE RAF Squadron Leader Douglas Bader, seen here posing with his Hurricane fighter plane in October 1940, strongly supported Leigh-Mallory's 'big wing' tactic.

needed to halt the downward slide of attritional losses and begin the climb back.

BIG WING

Vincent Orange, Park's biographer, commenting on his conduct of the battle, wrote as follows: 'Week after week, throughout the whole campaign, Park showed uncommon strength of mind in resisting pressure from both senior and junior officers to use larger forces than he thought proper. That resistance cost him his job once the battle was over.'

The crucial issue, pushed by Leigh-Mallory, commander of 12 Group, strongly supported by Douglas Bader, the disabled fighter-pilot and group captain, was the 'big wing'.

Park, supported by Dowding, argued that the basic tactical unit was the squadron, and that two-squadron attacks were the ideal. Leigh-Mallory and Bader argued that the wing – that is, five squadrons of fighters flying in a massed formation – was the basic tactical unit. Theirs was an aerial equivalent of the principle of concentration of force.

The dispute went toxic because Park depended on 12 Group fighters to defend his airfields and protect London when his own squadrons were scrambled to intercept incoming bomber formations over Kent and Sussex. Leigh-Mallory's big-wing formations repeatedly failed to provide the necessary support, and as interpersonal relations deteriorated, communications between 11 and 12 Group began to break down.

All the evidence – at the time and since – is that big wings did not work. They took too

'You must realise that we are going downhill.'

Hugh Dowding, Air Chief Marshal, Fighter Command

long to form up and gain height, and often missed the action. They were difficult to manoeuvre, and pilots became preoccupied with maintaining their position in the formation. They were highly visible from a great distance. Command and control was difficult, especially as 12 Group's big wings were usually trying to operate in 11 Group's area and to co-ordinate with 11 Group squadrons.

SERVICE POLITICS

A high-level conference on 17 October 'to discuss major tactics by fighter formations' was a monument to stupidity, with best practice marginalised in favour of big wings, partly on the basis of grossly inflated kill claims by 12 Group, partly because Dowding and Park found themselves outnumbered by service enemies.

As Orange sums it up: 'Leigh-Mallory looked and sounded impressive at that meeting. His views were simple and appealed most to those who knew least about the battle: large formations, boldly led, would have smashed the Hun, whereas the cautious defence doggedly offered by Dowding and Park allowed him to get away with it and preserve bombers for the current night offensive which was causing so much distress and alarm.'

Dowding and Park had both concluded that Leigh-Mallory was second-rate before the war. Commenting on a memorandum written by Leigh-Mallory in 1938, Dowding told Park that it 'shows a misconception of the basic ideas of fighter defence'. That misconception was confirmed as such by the Battle of Britain: no serious study has ever come out in favour of big-wing tactics.

None of that prevented Leigh-Mallory and his supporters from engineering the dismissal of the two leading opponents of big-wing tactics immediately after the victory had been won. •

BELOW (LEFT TO RIGHT) Air Chief Marshal Sir Keith Park, Air Chief Marshal Lord Dowding, Air Marshal Sir John Robb, and Group Captain Douglas Bader at an anniversary dinner on 15 September 1946 to commemorate the Battle of Britain.



Images: Press Association

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THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN

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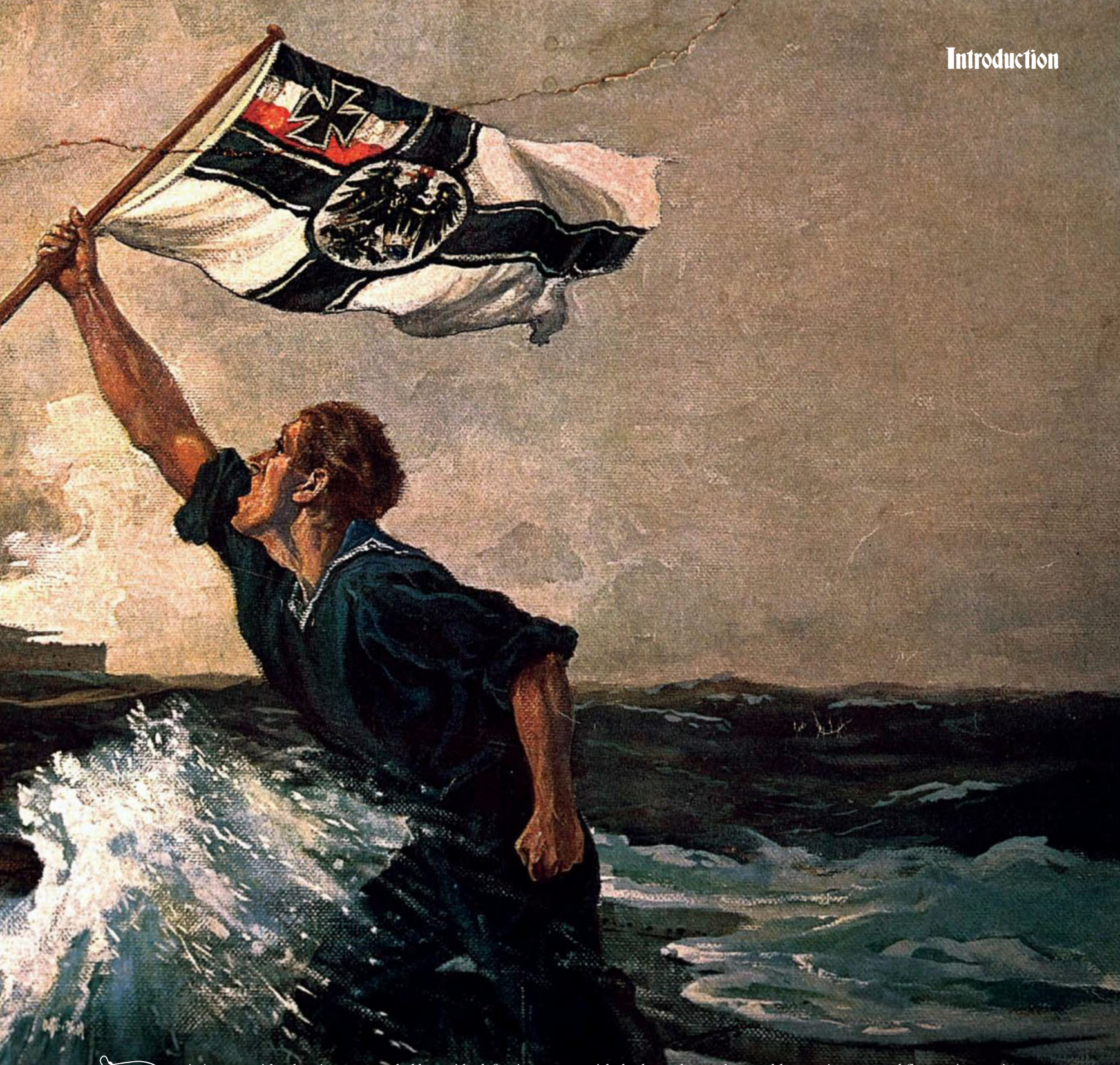
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THE KAISER'S world war at sea



Britain was an island nation surrounded by a wide defensive moat, and since the 18th century she had been the world's premier maritime power. How was Imperial Germany – a continental power with enemies on land in the east and the west – to challenge Britain's Royal Navy?

This question vexed the Kaiser and his admirals in the years before the First World War. Pursuing a policy of *Weltpolitik* – 'world power' – meant increasing overseas trade and acquiring colonies, and therefore global maritime reach. And as war became more likely, another issue compounded the maritime strategic problem: the danger of an economic blockade that would strangle the German economy and starve the German people.

The German response – masterminded mainly by Admiral Tirpitz – combined an explicit 'risk theory' challenge to Britain's main battle-fleet with a less well-conceived stumble towards maritime guerrilla warfare.

The risk theory assumed that the Imperial German Navy, while it could not match the Royal Navy in size, might become large enough to act as an effective deterrent. The thinking was that the British might be unwilling to

risk the heavy losses that could occur in a general fleet action against a sufficiently strong rival – effectively neutralising their naval supremacy.

In the event, the Kaiser proved even more cautious about risking his ships than the British, and, as Bernard Ireland explains in his first piece here, 'The Deterrent that Failed', the Royal Navy's mere existence was decisive – above all, in keeping Britain's supply-lines open and Germany's closed.

In any case, the age of capital ships was passing, and a revolution in naval warfare beginning. Had the Germans invested more and sooner in both fast armoured cruisers and in submarines, they might have done better.

German dreadnoughts were prestige projects incapable of altering the naval balance. But, as Bernard explains in his second piece, 'Brown-water Raider', a lone commerce-raider could tie down far more powerful forces in protracted and difficult 'search and destroy' missions. Later, the U-boat would provide an even more dramatic – and, for Britain, dangerous – demonstration of the potential.

We conclude our special this month with an assessment of the successes and failures of German naval policy at the beginning of the First World War. »

1896: KRUGER TELEGRAM

On 3 January 1896, Kaiser Wilhelm II sent Paul Kruger, President of the Boer Republic of the Transvaal, a telegram congratulating him on repelling the Jameson Raid, an attack mounted by 600 British volunteers, backed by mining magnate Cecil Rhodes, and designed to trigger an

insurrection by English-speaking settlers in the Transvaal. The telegram read: 'I express to you my sincere congratulations that you and your people, without appealing to the help of friendly powers, have succeeded, by your own energetic action against the armed bands which invaded your country as disturbers of the peace, in restoring peace and in maintaining the independence of the country against attack from without.' The telegram was one measure of the growing international tension between Britain and Germany.

1897

TIRPITZ BECOMES
EFFECTIVE HEAD OF
GERMAN IMPERIAL
NAVY

1894

1894: FRANCO-RUSSIAN ALLIANCE



This alliance began the breakup of the old system of alignments that had been engineered by Bismarck to keep a revanchist France isolated and Germany secure against a war on two fronts. The alliance made Germany increasingly anxious about its military security on the Continent, just at the time it was becoming increasingly ambitious for overseas empire and maritime power. This created the basis for a further realignment, with Britain eventually joining with France and Russia to form the Triple Entente – in effect, an anti-German European bloc.

1902

ANGLO-
JAPANESE
ALLIANCE

1903

CUNIBERTI
RECOMMENDS
ALL-BIG-GUN
BATTLESHIP

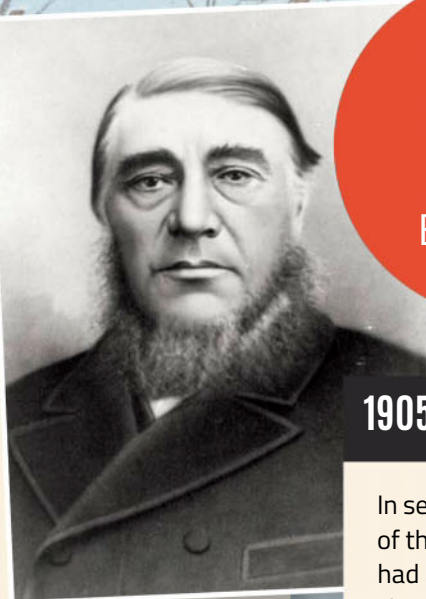
1898: FIRST NAVY LAW



The first of four laws that would be passed by the German Reichstag granting funds for naval expansion, this one provided for the building of 19 battleships, 12 heavy cruisers, and 30 light cruisers. Since the new fleet was assumed to be directed against France and Russia, the First Navy Law provoked little reaction in Britain. A Second Navy Law followed in 1900, stipulating that the Navy should, within 20 years, comprise 34 battleships, 14 heavy cruisers, and 38 light cruisers.

1904

ANGLO-
FRENCH
ENTENTE



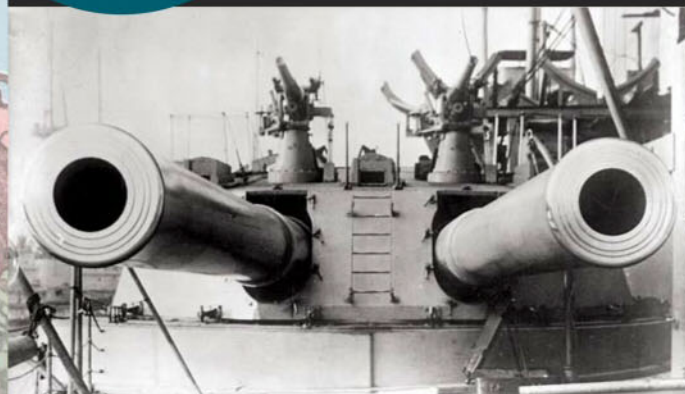
1905-1906: FIRST MOROCCAN CRISIS

In settling colonial differences as a prerequisite of the 1904 Anglo-French Entente, the British had agreed to allocate Morocco to the French. The Germans, not party to the carve-up, chose to regard Morocco as an independent country, and a crisis was triggered by a high-profile visit of the Kaiser to Tangier in 1905 (the First Moroccan Crisis). But Germany found herself isolated at an international conference called to discuss the issue early the following year; in particular, calmly but firmly, British Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey made clear his backing for France. Germany was forced to recognise French supremacy in north-west Africa. Tirpitz used the humiliation to advance his Third Navy Law.

1904

'JACKY' FISHER
BECOMES FIRST
SEA LORD

1906: LAUNCH OF
HMS *DREADNOUGHT*



Built in great secrecy and at high speed, HMS *Dreadnought* rendered all other battleships afloat obsolete. She carried ten 12-inch guns in five turrets, and her steam turbines gave her a speed of 21 knots. One result was the passing of a new Navy Law in Germany in 1908 – the Third – providing the funds for a programme to replace Germany's older battleships with new dreadnought-style ships.

1912: GERMANY ABANDONS NAVAL ARMS RACE



Throughout the Anglo-German naval arms race, Germany was straddling a contradiction: she remained a Continental power with a mid-European position facing an enemy on two fronts, and at the same time was competing with a third power in a struggle for maritime supremacy. The modernisation and expansion of the Russian and French armies in the final years before the outbreak of war finally forced the Germans to abandon the naval arms race and focus on the Army.

1914

1907
ANGLO-
RUSSIAN
ENTENTE

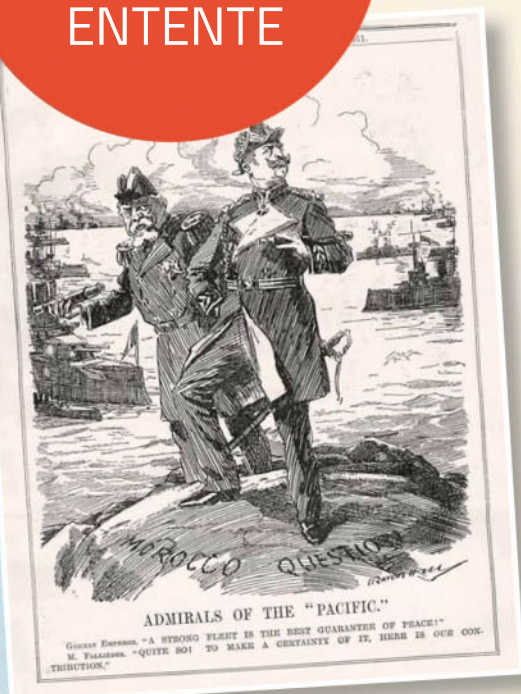
1911: SECOND MOROCCAN CRISIS

Morocco was again the centre of an international storm in 1911. When clashes broke out between French troops and Moroccan demonstrators, Germany demanded compensation in return for recognition of a French protectorate, dispatching a gunboat to Agadir, ostensibly to protect the interests of its nationals, in reality to underwrite its principal demand. As in 1906, war threatened. Again, the threat dissolved once the solidarity of Britain and France was made apparent.

1914: BALANCE OF NAVAL POWER



Britain remained overwhelmingly dominant at sea at the outbreak of war, with 49 battleships against Germany's 29. This advantage was greatly enhanced by the relative sizes of both the French and Russian fleets, in contrast to that of the Austrians, Germany's main ally, who had only a very small navy.



Naval Policy

The Deterrent that Failed

Bernard Ireland analyses German naval policy in the countdown to World War I.

Why, wailed the leader writer of *The Times* in London on 28 March 1898, did Germany need a stronger navy? 'The maritime commerce of Germany', he went on, 'is very considerably less than half its total foreign commerce. If Germany is ever invaded, the invader is not likely to [travel] by sea. Her transmarine possessions and interests are, as yet, comparatively insignificant.'

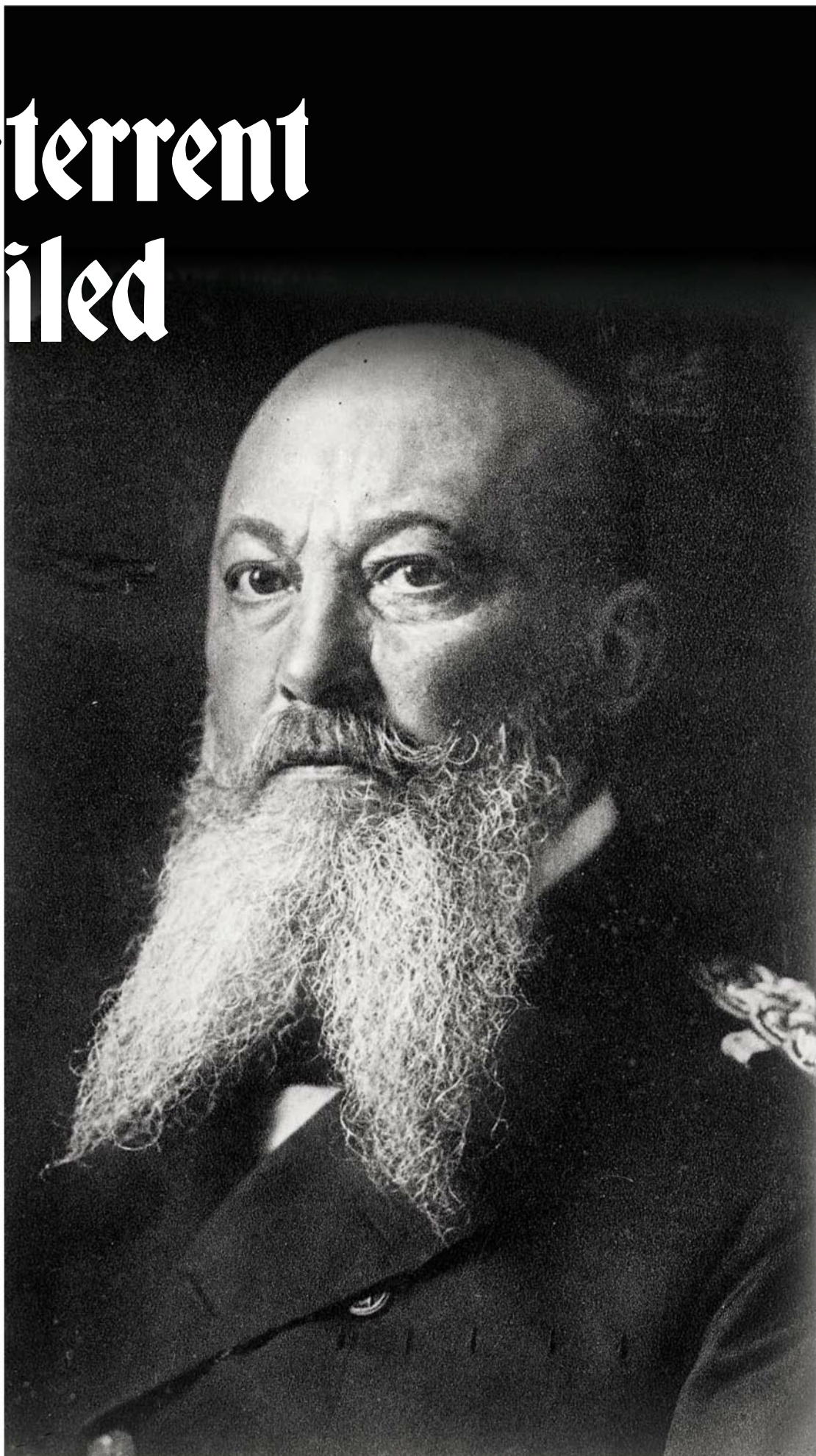
The journalist had a point, but was committing the error of assuming that, because Germany had, like Great Britain, a large and growing fleet, her ultimate objectives were similar. They were not.

Germany was still a new nation, essentially a land power comprising numerous land-orientated states, not all of which were yet committed to a common cause. The state of Prussia had come with its own Navy, which, since 1871, had been accorded 'Imperial' and independent status by the constitution. Having played but a minor role in the Franco-Prussian War, which had preceded the birth of the German Empire, it remained subordinate to the Army, and was under the authority of Army supremos.

GERMAN COLONIALISM

The first head of the new 'Naval Department of the War Ministry' was General and Admiral Albrecht von Stosch, who viewed his charge as a coastal defence force whose most likely foes would be France and Russia,

RIGHT Grand Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz (1849-1930), shown here when he was still a rear admiral. He became the main architect of Germany's naval policy before the First World War.



possibly in concert. He nonetheless set to diligently, establishing a naval academy and those basic departments essential for the expansion of the service.

Stosch was forward-thinking, favouring the acquisition of foreign territories to further Germany's interests in the world. The cruising ships necessary to support these would further advertise national presence. Despite the opposition of Chancellor Bismarck ('There will be no colonial policy as long as I am Chancellor!'), the imperialists had the support of the Kaiser, Wilhelm I, and within a decade Germany had acquired colonies in east, west and south-west Africa, New Guinea, and the western Pacific.

The old statesman's misgivings proved correct, however, for the colonies were expensive failures, generating minimal two-way trade or settlement, while posing the predictable conundrum of how, or if, they should be defended in the event of war. Were an overseas empire to be maintained, not to say expanded, the requirement for a fleet – and the vast concomitant expense – was obvious.

THE FRANCO-RUSSIAN THREAT

Stosch's 1883 successor, Graf Georg Leo von Caprivi, was more staff officer than politician. Obsessed by the possibility of war with France and Russia simultaneously, he saw the imperial fleet as a buffer, preventing the one from supporting the other by sea – a strategy akin to that of the British Royal Navy, with its efforts to prevent the junction of the French Mediterranean and Atlantic fleets during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

Caprivi inherited a coherent force of a dozen armoured frigates and corvettes that had resulted from a Stosch programme funded partly by French reparations following the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871). He was, however, much influenced by the fashionable Jeune École movement, and was keen to add a sizeable torpedo component as a supposedly cheap counter to major ships of the line. To this end, Caprivi created a Torpedo Inspectorate and two flotillas of torpedo craft.

These plans received the blessing of the 90-year-old Kaiser who, farsightedly, oversaw the 1887 commencement of the Kiel Canal. As this waterway would permit ships to switch quickly between the Baltic and North Seas, fewer vessels were required. (The Panama Canal had a similar significance in US Navy calculations.)

TIRPITZ AND TORPEDOES

Kaiser Wilhelm I's death early in 1888 opened the short rule of the Anglophile Friedrich III, lasting just 99 days. That same year thus saw also the accession of his son, who adopted the style Wilhelm II. As Tirpitz would note, this 'closed the epoch of the naval generals'.

At this juncture, Alfred Tirpitz was a middle-ranking torpedo specialist, sold on the concept of attack by a 'black host' on the enemy line. Acknowledging the pre-eminence of the Army, he forecast that Germany would remain 'a sea power of the second rank'. This would change.

This was the era of close blockade, a practice at which the British excelled. Torpedo craft were meant to defeat it, and it was Tirpitz's task to develop the necessary doctrines. The general lack of seaworthiness of these craft, however, aroused in him doubts of their practical utility.

In leading a flotilla at Queen Victoria's 1887 Fleet Review, Tirpitz met the still-Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, representing the ailing Kaiser. They found in each other enthusiastic supporters of the superiority of the battle fleet, emotions encouraged by the ranks of raw sea power anchored about them.

Wilhelm was given to doodling designs of hopelessly over-gunned dream battleships, and, on assuming power, lost no time in summoning the Fleet Constructor to discuss them personally. Such a breach of protocol brought Caprivi to tender his resignation, which was accepted. His successor, Graf Alexander Monts, disliked torpedo warfare.

CRUISER WARFARE

Beside torpedoes, however, the Jeune École advocated cruiser warfare against enemy trade (*guerre de course*) and the threat of – or actual – bombardment of coastal towns.

Cruiser warfare in earlier conflicts had proved highly effective, but, degenerating into something little better than piracy, was legitimised as 'privateering' before being outlawed by the 1856 Treaty of Paris. The Jeune École argued not only for its continued acceptance, but also for a ruthless approach. War, it said, should be brutal, bloody, and brief.

In 1890, just two years into his reign, the 31-year-old Kaiser rid himself of the moderating influence of the 75-year-old Bismarck. That year also marked the publication of Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*. This argued persuasively that national prosperity and influence were linked directly to sea power. The catchphrase was: trade followed the flag.

First read by Tirpitz, in whom it aroused no 'eureka moment', it fired latent passions in Wilhelm, who hated his English wife while envying the effortless power wielded by her mother, Victoria. Britain's success, argued Mahan, was a clear vindication of battle fleets and capital ships.

As Wilhelm I had raised Prussia to European greatness by nurturing an army answering directly to him, so he, Wilhelm II, would seize global power (*Weltmacht*) through a similarly dependent fleet.



ABOVE Kaiser Wilhelm II (1888-1918). Young, highly strung, bombastic, and of limited intellect, the German Kaiser was fixated on the trappings of global power. Because dreadnoughts were the Great Power status-symbols of the age, he wanted dreadnoughts.

WILHELM AND WELTMACHT

Under the constitution, the armed services were 'under [Wilhelm's] supreme command'. Change was rapid. Monts was disposed of and a new top-level structure substituted, comprising a Chief of the High Command of the Navy, Chief of the Imperial Naval Cabinet, and a State Secretary of the Imperial Naval Office. A subtle case of 'divide and rule', none of these posts enjoyed the authority once wielded by Stosch. »

'This closed the epoch of the naval generals.'

Admiral Tirpitz on the accession of Kaiser Wilhelm II

It was as Chief of Staff to Admiral Knorr, Chief of the High Command, that Tirpitz was appointed in 1892. He immediately repudiated cruiser warfare, as neither of the likely enemies, France and Russia, depended on seaborne trade.

Britain's enormous building programme, following the passing of the 1889 Naval Defence Act, further encouraged Wilhelm's desire for fleet expansion, and, in his endeavours to convince a parsimonious Reichstag, he found a politically astute ally in Tirpitz.

Relations between the two nations soured over the growing Anglo-Boer conflict. The notorious 'Kruger Telegram' of 1895 resulted in the Royal Navy's rapid deployment of a 'Flying Squadron'. Germany's inability to respond in kind was perceived by Wilhelm to be a national humiliation, strengthening his hand in the bid for increased naval funding.

MOST LIKELY FUTURE ENEMY

From 1897, Great Britain was elevated to 'most likely future enemy' status, which had the unintended consequence of the British Admiralty envisioning a Triple Alliance of Germany with France and Russia, justifying further naval expansion.

Although jealously retaining his right to dictate policy, the Kaiser was over-concerned in minutiae, and lacked the mental stamina for major responsibility. Rages were frequent ('I am the Supreme War Lord! I do not decide. I command!').

Admiral Knorr defined the major functions of the fleet as follows:

- Achieve command of the sea; destroy/ blockade enemy forces; blockade enemy coastlines.
- Protect own and destroy enemy commerce.

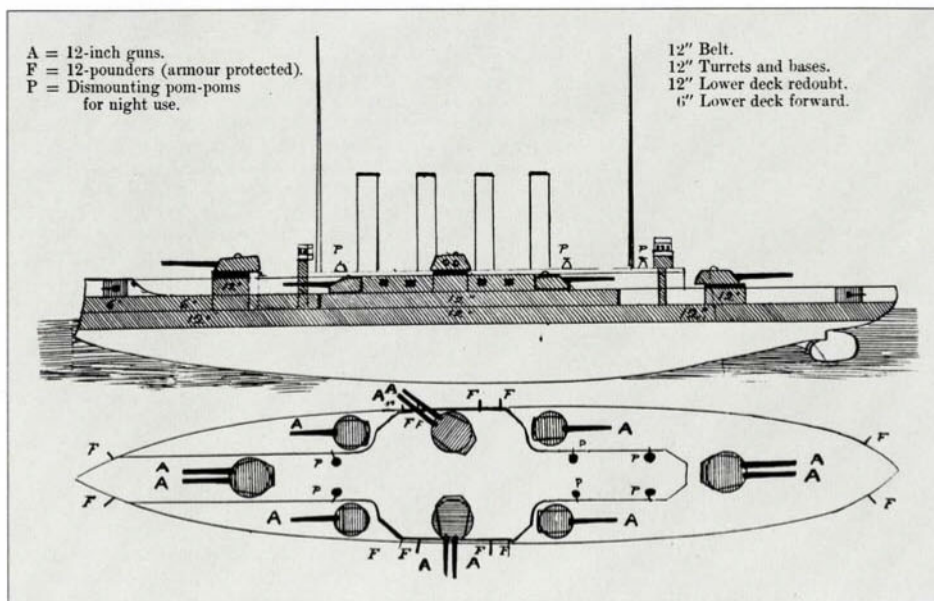
Protect own while damaging/conquering enemy colonies.

Directly support operations of Army; provide troop transports.

Against a navy the size of the British, however, such objectives looked unattainable, and a new strategy was necessary.

Tirpitz was made State Secretary of the Naval Office in 1897, wasting no time in preparing an admirably argued secret memorandum in support of the forthcoming Naval Bill. A lengthy document, it gives valuable insight into what the Admiral wanted built, with some idea on the mode of use.

Paragraph 3 rates cruiser warfare against 'England' as hopeless, due to the superfluity of foreign British bases and paucity of German ones: 'We must ignore this type of war against England in our plans for the constitution of our fleet.'



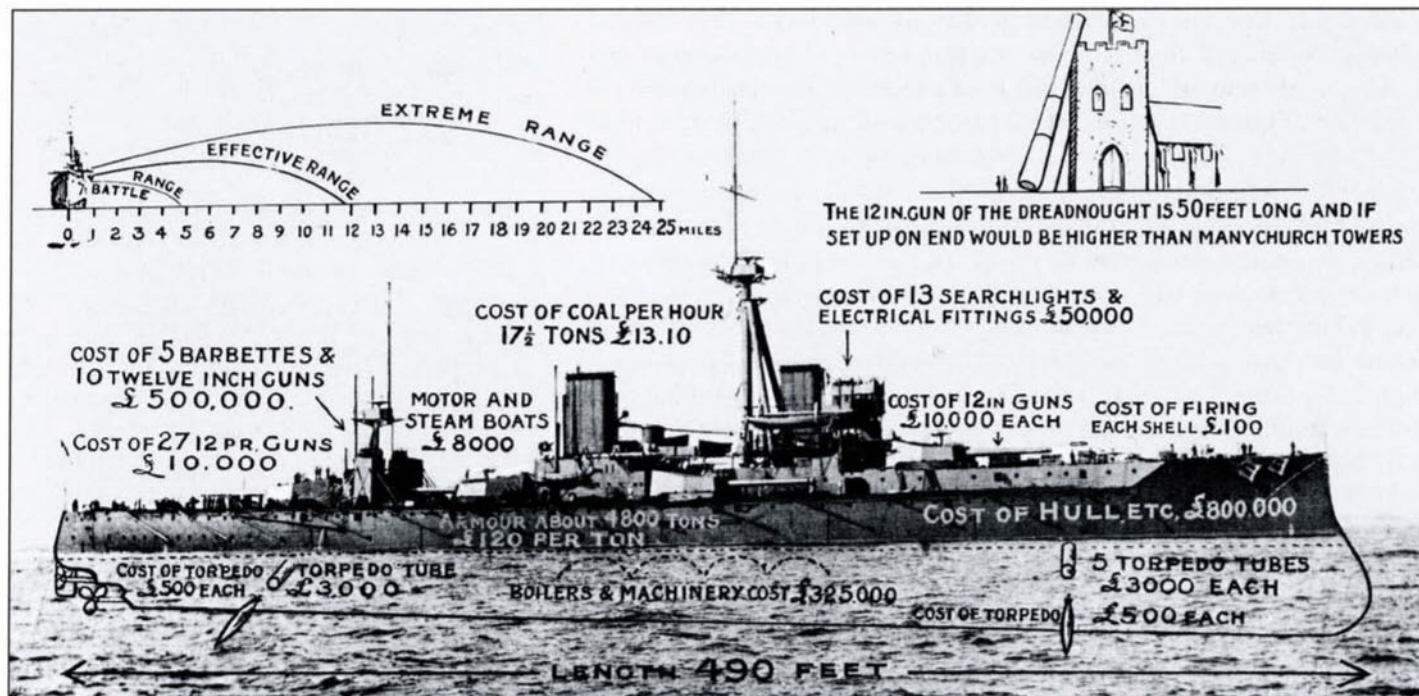
Dreadnoughts were the Great Power status-symbols of their age:

LEFT Italian engineer Vittorio Cuniberto's 1903 design for an all-big-gun battleship – a dreadnought.

BELOW Cost no object: a souvenir brochure from the 1911 Spithead Review explains how much it costs to build a dreadnought.

'I am the Supreme War Lord! I do not decide. I command!'

Kaiser Wilhelm II



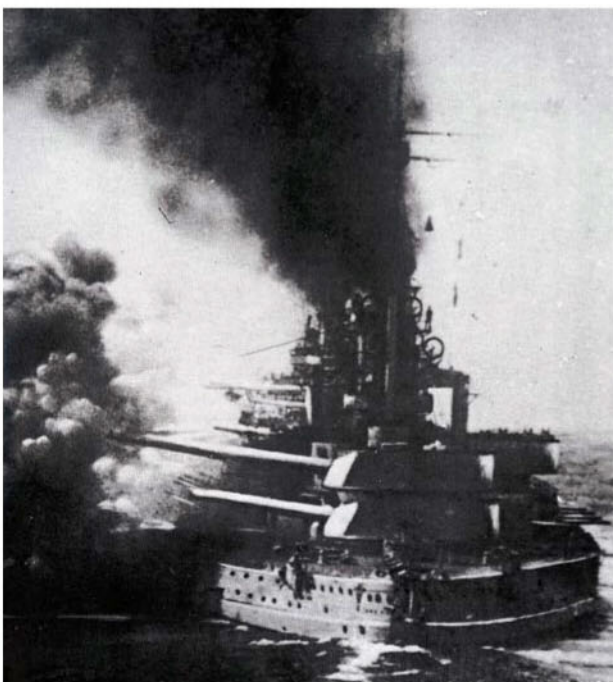


Image: WPL

ABOVE One of the Kaiser's dreadnoughts in action at Jutland in 1916. More armoured cruisers and submarines might have been a better investment.

Paragraphs 15 to 17 state that ships engaged on overseas service should be interchangeable with main fleet units (whereas Britain could afford to build relatively large numbers of small cruisers designed for colonial service).

Paragraph 4 states that 'our fleet must be so constructed that it can unfold its greatest potential between Heligoland and the Thames', and, according to Paragraph 5, the coal capacity of individual ship designs must 'permit a radius of action as far as Brest'.

RISK THEORY

The clear implication was that the planned fleet was for deployment in north European waters, specifically against Britain. In accordance with Tirpitz's 'risk theory', the battle fleet would be kept concentrated. While it could never be as powerful as that of the 'greatest naval power' (namely Great Britain, but never identified as such), any attempt by the latter to force the issue would be to risk unacceptable losses. The fleet would thus act as a deterrent to Britain interfering with German foreign policy.

Both Wilhelm and Tirpitz considered that possessing a first-class battle fleet would make Germany attractive as a partner in alliance. However, as the Kaiser wished to preserve the fleet to be used as a bargaining chip on any future peace table, he was increasingly fearful of losses. Knowledge of this was something that no Fleet Admiral would wish to take into combat.

Tirpitz's hostility to submarines continued, so that the first were not ordered until 1904. They did not participate in manoeuvres before

1912. Early defeats in the war, Heligoland Bight and the Falklands, both through the bold use of capital ships, made Wilhelm and, by extension, his admirals, wary of action with a Royal Navy that obviously did not subscribe to 'risk theory'.

Indecision and inaction resulted, not helped by Wilhelm's threats to the career of any dissenter: 'I have created and trained the Fleet. Where, when, and how I wish to use it is exclusively the Supreme War Lord's business. Everybody else will have to remain silent on this matter and obey!'

The High Command expected an all-out British naval onslaught from the outset of hostilities. It did not come. In an endeavour to whittle away British numerical superiority, therefore, the Jeune École proposal of shore bombardments was pursued. Braving press charges against them as 'Baby Killers', Hipper's battle cruisers hit English east-coast ports in hit-and-run attacks designed to lure British battle cruisers into hot pursuit, and into the arms of the now-styled High Seas Fleet. The strategy was not successful.

IMPERIAL GERMANY'S PIRATES

Cruiser warfare was conducted from the outset, but was a wasting asset, utilising only those regular cruisers already allocated to foreign stations, and a clutch of entirely unsuitable merchantmen selected for their speed rather than their endurance. Lacking self-sufficiency and dockyard support, all were quickly accounted for. (Later in the war, however, it was found that innocent-looking freighters, specially fitted-out, made very effective raiders.)

To general surprise, the submarine proved an effective means of offsetting the relative inactivity of the battle fleet. To operate effectively, however, U-boats had to ignore 'prize rules', and the resulting 'sink on sight' strategy inevitably involved the loss of innocent life, engendering rows with neutrals, notably the United States. Resulting disagreements in the German High Command brought about, inter alia, the resignation of Tirpitz in March 1916.

Jutland, in May 1916, finally brought about the trial of strength so long awaited. Deterrence had thus failed, but, although the Germans won a material victory, it was realised that the British Grand Fleet would not be defeated in orthodox combat, and an all-out U-boat war was initiated. That this contributed to the eventual American declaration of war only hastened the inevitable.

Over the whole course of World War I, the British Tenth Cruiser Squadron (10CS) exercised a Northern Blockade. Unglamorous but highly effective, it starved Germany of essential imports, causing shortages and rationing, and contributing to the ultimate

'Our fleet must be so constructed that it can unfold its greatest potential between Heligoland and the Thames.'

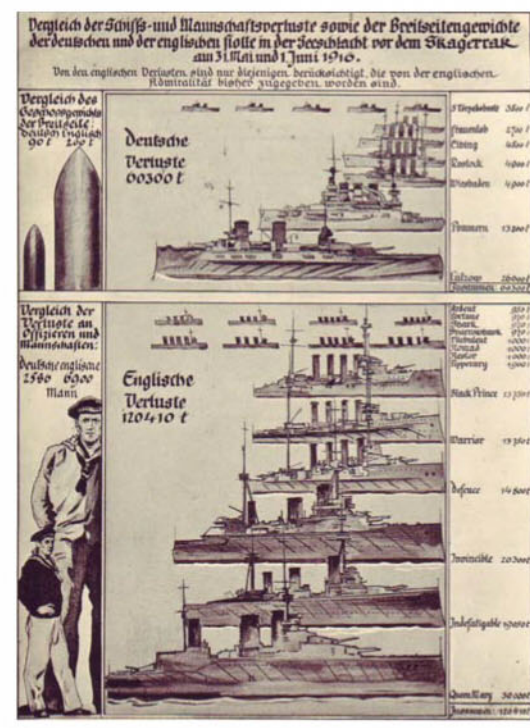
Admiral Tirpitz

collapse of national morale. Why the High Seas Fleet did not operate decisively against 10CS is one of the enduring mysteries of the war.

The answer to *The Times* leader writer's question, therefore, appears largely to be simply 'because the All-Highest ordained it thus'. •

Bernard Ireland served a working lifetime with the Royal Naval Scientific Service. Author of 30 books on naval history and technological development, he has also contributed widely to journals and partworks.

BELOW A German propaganda postcard from 1916, which compares the German and British losses at the Battle of Jutland. Although the Germans won a material victory, it was realised that the British Grand Fleet would not be defeated in orthodox combat.



The Battle

Brown-water Raider

THE STRANGE CASE OF THE *KÖNIGSBERG*

Bernard Ireland charts the career of one of Imperial Germany's most celebrated commerce-raiders.



As yet untouched by the European war, Zanzibar town slumbered in the early morning of 20 September 1914. Lying at anchor just off shore was the small British cruiser *Pegasus*, a unit of the Cape Squadron. The remainder of the squadron was absent, assisting in the escort of important troop convoys along the India–Suez route.

The British ship was on high alert, as Zanzibar lay close to the mainland port of Dar-es-Salaam, capital of German East Africa and base to the more modern German cruiser *Königsberg*.

The latter had disappeared shortly before the declaration of war. Assumptions that she would operate against trade were confirmed when a British cargo-liner went missing in the Gulf of Aden, following which things again went quiet.

Typical of steam-reciprocating machinery, that of the *Pegasus* needed ‘opening up’ to allow urgent maintenance. Although it had steam in the other engine, the ship was vulnerable, and, as misfortune would have it, a patrol craft reported a strange vessel entering the South Channel. This being a prohibited approach, the stranger was challenged, only to run up her battle ensign and open fire. It was the *Königsberg*.

The German swept past the *Pegasus*, which, totally surprised, offered little resistance. Just eight minutes of close-range shooting left the British vessel ablaze, wrecked, and foundering in the shallow water. Unscathed, her adversary disappeared to the north. It would be a while before British eyes would see her again.

KLEINKRIEG

Although *guerre de course*, or war on commerce, was a tried-and-tested means of damaging the economy of maritime societies, the German High Command did not plan to inflict it on Britain to any great extent. This was because German foreign territories did not, as yet, offer bases with proper dockyard facilities, a situation in direct contrast to that of the British. It was recognised that any attempt at ‘cruiser warfare’ (*Kleinkrieg*) would result in the speedy demise of the cruisers dedicated

to it, possibly for small return. (It might be noted that, at this stage, neither side foresaw the devastating impact of the submarine in this role.)

As if recognising the futility of defending her far-flung colonies in the event of war with Britain, Germany committed few regular warships to foreign commissions. A first-rate squadron of cruisers under Graf von Spee operated from its Chinese base of Tsingtao. Two light cruisers based in the Caribbean had been reinforced with a third to safeguard national interests in revolution-torn Mexico. Lastly, based in German East Africa (now Tanzania), was the aforementioned *Königsberg*, commanded by Korvettenkapitän Maximilian Loeff.

Foreign-based commanding officers were selected for their resourcefulness. None had any realistic chance of making it home in the event of war with Britain. All they could be expected to do was inflict as much pain as possible before their inevitable destruction or internment.

To assist them, German diplomacy had created so-called *Etappen* networks, comprising consuls, merchants, and the like who possessed residential knowledge of their particular area. These were the people who could unobtrusively arrange provisions and fuel for transfer to isolated anchorages.

Ammunition, spare parts, and suchlike had to be shipped out from Germany, involving long voyages that left the carriers at considerable risk of capture.

With ship-borne sets still of low power, essential radio contact depended greatly on a number of powerful shore relay-stations, all of which were vulnerable to specific targeting.

Regular warships require frequent dockyard attention. Reciprocating machinery wore quickly, and did not like being run at continuous high revolutions for protracted periods. Boilers needed regular attention, and damage incurred in action would need to be repaired. Combatants could officially remain only 24 hours in a neutral port, and their presence there would likely be relayed immediately to the nearest British warship.

A further problem, and by no means the least, was organising safe conduct for the crews of any prizes taken. These were an embarrassment aboard an already cramped light cruiser, and were usually transhipped to the first neutral encountered. This act of humanity alone would betray a raider's position, making it advisable to shift quickly to a different area of operation.

Not yet at war, ships of both sides were darkened and had guns loaded as they passed within 3,000 yards.

This exacerbated the problem of coal supplies. In the case of the *Königsberg*, standard endurance was 4,850 sea miles at an economical cruising speed of 12 knots. Higher speeds consumed coal at an exponentially higher rate, so considerable reliance was placed on the capture of colliers, fortunately plentiful.

LOOFF'S CAMPAIGN

With hostilities likely, Loeff received his war instructions, having the facilities and ships of the Deutsch Ost-Afrika Linie (DOAL) allocated to his support. His ship was stemmed in the Dar-es-Salaam floating dock, and had all defects rectified. Fully stored and fuelled, *Königsberg* carried out a final practice shoot and, at dusk on 31 July, sailed.

Rear-Admiral Herbert King-Hall's Cape Squadron cruisers, HMS *Hyacinth*, *Astraea*, and *Pegasus*, were awaiting her. Of the three, however, only the flagship, *Hyacinth*, could engage Loeff on anything like equal terms, and even she was four knots slower.

Not yet at war, ships of both sides were darkened and had guns loaded as they passed within 3,000 yards. Without incident, the German disappeared into the gathering darkness. Six days' easy steaming then brought Loeff to the shipping focal point of the Gulf of Aden, his designated first area of operation.

Loeff quickly captured the British cargo-liner *City of Winchester*, which he kept in company together with two intercepted German ships, *Zieten* and *Goldenfels*. With the airwaves thick with British warship traffic, Loeff did not dally, taking his group eastward, anchoring in the isolated Bay of Makallah on the Hadramut coast, where he made a rendezvous with a further German freighter, *Ostmark*.

Here, Loeff learned that King-Hall had attacked Dar-es-Salaam, destroying the valuable radio station and port facilities. Expecting a »

MAIN IMAGE A group picture of the sailors of the *Königsberg* and other vessels. The *Königsberg* was one of a handful of German commerce-raiders – light, fast armoured cruisers – that threatened Britain's global communications in the opening months of the First World War.

German positions

- Observation post
- ▲ Armed emplacements
- ⊕ Königsberg's anchorages
- ⊕ Königsberg's final anchorage

British positions

- ▲ Blockship Newbridge
- Positions of monitors 6 July
- HMS Severn 11 July
- HMS Mersey's 1st position on 6 July and during 11 July
- ✈ RNAS Observation flights

Königsberg

Movements and specifications



ABOVE The Rufiji Delta campaign, September 1914-July 1915. The map shows the successive anchorages of the *Königsberg* during the long and difficult struggle to destroy the ship.

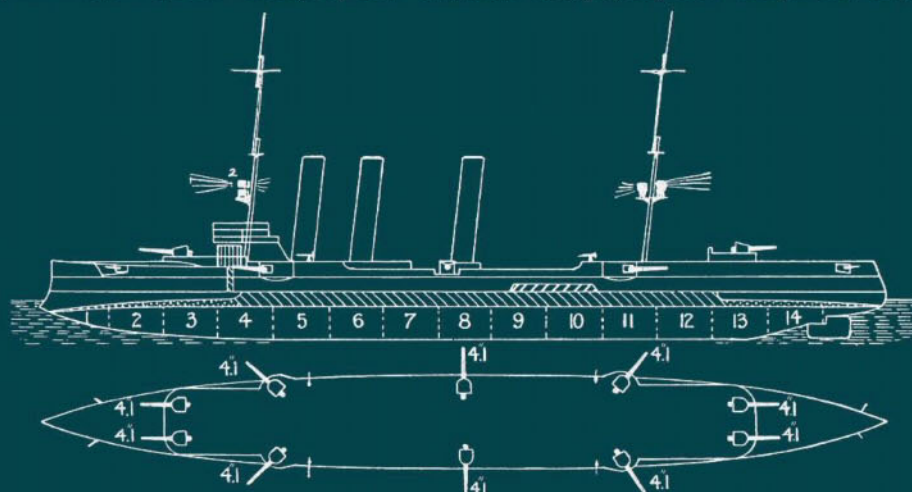
BELOW The *Königsberg*, as depicted in the 1914 edition of *Jane's*.

(STETTIN CLASS—3 SHIPS.)

STUTTGART (Sept., 1906), **STETTIN** (March, 1907), and **NÜRNBERG** (Aug., 1906).

Normal Displacement, 3450 tons. Complement, 295.

Length (waterline), 354½ feet. Beam, 44½ feet. Maximum draught, 17½ feet. Length over all, 360 feet.



Broadside: 5—4.1 in.

Machinery: 2 sets 4 cylinder triple expansion. 2 screws except *Stettin*, Turbine (Parsons). Boilers: 11 Schulz-Thornycroft. Designed H.P. 13,200=23.5 kts. Coal: normal 400 tons; maximum 850 tons. Nominal radius 5500 knots.

Image: WPL



ABOVE The wreck of the *Königsberg*, which was abandoned by its crew after taking crippling damage from the fire of two British monitors.

Image: Bundesarchiv

The monitors anchored about 11,000 yards short of their target and opened a steady fire with their single 6-inch guns.

landing, shore personnel had scuttled the floating dock, blocking the harbour and imprisoning three potentially useful DOAL liners. The *Königsberg* was now denied even basic facilities, in addition to which, British agents were buying up all available coal supplies on the coast.

EVASION TO EAST AFRICA

Moving further into the wilderness, Loeff anchored in the desolate Kuria Muria islands. Here, the *City of Winchester* was stripped and scuttled, her crew being repatriated by the *Zieten* to Portuguese Mozambique and the *Goldenfels* to the Dutch East Indies.

Boilers cleaned, and with radio traffic of British warships loud in his receiver, Loeff headed for Ras Hafun, on the Horn of Africa. Here he bunkered from DOAL's *Somali* and headed for French Madagascar. Expecting shipping at Majunga, he was 'very disappointed' to discover a deserted harbour.

At Aldabra Island in the Mozambique Channel, the *Königsberg* took on the last

of the *Somali*'s coal cargo. The cruiser was already experiencing mechanical trouble, and required a quiet anchorage with access to facilities ashore.

The multiple mouths of the Rufiji River (adjudged un-navigable by the British) had been surveyed by the Germans, who had discovered that, on spring tides, a ship of the *Königsberg*'s size could penetrate ten or more miles to the settlement of Salala, whence an unmetalled jungle road ran 75 miles to Dar-es-Salaam.

Loeff arrived here on 3 September 1914 and, served well by the *Etappen* system, was refuelled and revictualled. After a self-refit, the cruiser departed on the next springs, having learned of the presence of the *Pegasus* at Zanzibar.

Having dispatched the British ship (using an astonishing 270 rounds of precious ammunition), the German cruiser had to return to the refuge of the Rufiji, having run a main bearing. The bearing blocks were then sent off by bullock cart for remetalling at Dar-es-Salaam.



Image: WPL

ABOVE The 6-inch gun of the British monitor *Severn* in the Rufiji Delta.

RUN DOWN

Would-be avenging British warships could be 'heard' searching everywhere, all ignoring the Rufiji until, on 9 October, the cruiser *Dartmouth* captured a DOAL tug. Paperwork found on board pointed to the DOAL liner *Präsident* and the small port of Lindi.

Quickly following up the clue, the *Chatham* found the liner concealed upriver, superficially disguised as a hospital ship. Company records indicated that her bunkers had been stripped and taken to Salala. For the first time, the Rufiji was implicated in German naval operations.

Using charts removed from the *Präsident*, the *Chatham* edged into the main mouth, but her deep draught was against her. Trying again on 3 November, on the peak of the springs, she came under shore-fire from positions established by Loeff.

By listing his ship, the *Chatham*'s commanding officer enabled her to range nearly 15,000 yards to reach Salala. Firing for an hour completely blind, she achieved no more than to pepper the *Königsberg* with fragments. A repeat shoot on 6 November destroyed the faithful *Somali*.

Now that Loeff was effectively blockaded, the British could relax until specialist vessels arrived. On 10 November, they scuttled a collier across the main fairway and, on 19 November, a transport arrived with a sea-plane. This enjoyed a brief life, but was able to register the German's exact position.



LEFT Askaris cross the bridge over the Rufiji River to transport the guns of the SMS *Königsberg*. Fully stocked and fuelled, she carried out one final practice shoot before departing the floating dock on 31 July.

Image: Bundesarchiv

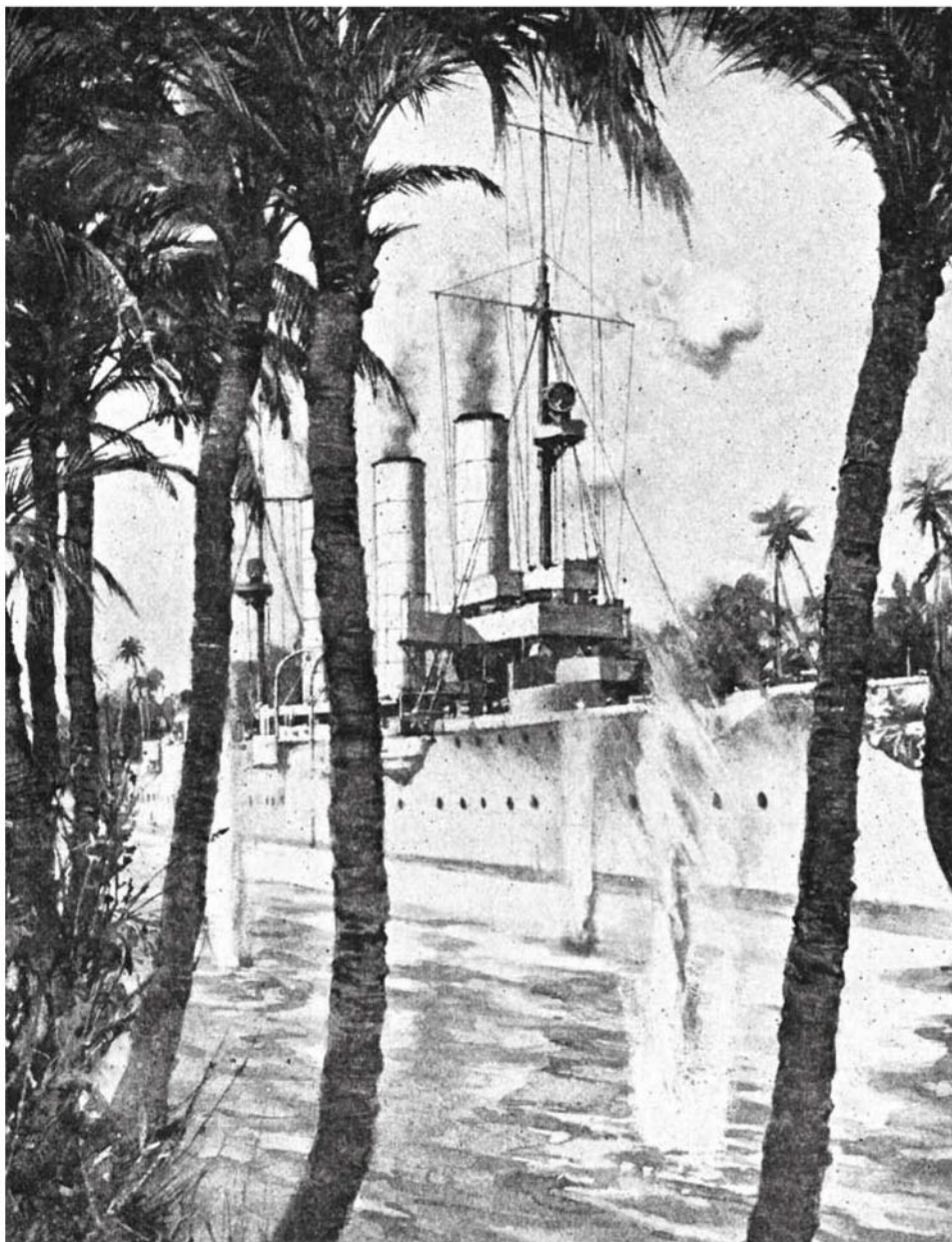


Image: WPL

ABOVE The *Königsberg* under fire at its anchorage in the Rufiji Delta.

Loeff, observed by a series of equally short-lived seaplanes, inched ever further upriver. He was unaware that a pair of river monitors, HMS *Mersey* and *Severn*, were being towed out from the Mediterranean. They arrived at the, by now, bustling British temporary base on Mafia Island on 3 June 1915.

A German supply-ship arrived safely in the area early in April, but, while trying to establish contact, had betrayed her own position. She was driven ashore and wrecked by a British cruiser.

THE MONITORS

Following three weeks' overhaul, and with added splinter protection and sandbags, the monitors underwent steaming and gunnery trials. At first light on 6 July 1915, German positions reported and engaged the pair as they moved cautiously upstream.

The monitors anchored about 11,000 yards short of their target and, intermittently guided by a spotter aircraft, opened a steady fire with their single 6-inch guns. Enjoying more precise spotting from ashore, five of the *Königsberg's* 10.5cm guns replied. After about 40 minutes, *Mersey* was hit twice, forcing her to withdraw. Her colleague, however, hit the German twice, before she, too, retired.

A second attempt was made on 11 July. Communication with the spotter was good and, from 9,500 yards, *Severn* hit with her eighth shot, followed quickly by six more. *Mersey* had to divert to rescue the crew of the spotter when it ditched nearby.

By now, with the target well registered, shooting was steady and, after about two hours, the British were rewarded by an immense explosion. On Loeff's orders, the *Königsberg*, out of ammunition and with no prospect of escape, was abandoned by her crew and blown up. Their ship no more, her crew, undaunted, marched inland to serve with the military forces of General von Lettow-Vorbeck, which resisted for the remainder of the war.

The British were lax in not following-up sufficiently, enabling the enemy to salvage all of the *Königsberg's* guns and much of the cargo from the grounded supply-ship, immobilised but far from destroyed.

Loeff had inflicted only minor damage in his career as a raider, but had set what was to be the common pattern of creating very considerable disruption and inconvenience, tying down disproportionate numbers of British and Allied warships. •

BELOW The British were lax, allowing the Germans to manoeuvre the disassembled 10.5cm guns of the *Königsberg* through the fields of the Rufiji Delta.



Image: Bundesarchiv

Ruling the Waves

The First World War was characterised by a succession of protracted, attritional battles on land, but very few large-scale actions at sea. Previous wars had not taken this form. Wars in the 18th century sometimes saw as many major clashes at sea as on land – and clashes similar in duration and deadliness.

One reason for the relative lack of naval action was the overwhelming superiority of the Royal Navy. This meant that the German High Seas Fleet spent most of the war in port. Yet the Royal Navy's impact on the outcome of the war was decisive – though expressed in negatives.

British maritime supremacy precluded any possibility of a German invasion of the homeland, making it possible to send virtually all of the nine million men who were mobilised overseas to fight, mainly in Belgium, France, the Balkans, and the Middle East.

The transport of these men, and that of men from India and the Dominions, as well as that of the raw materials and foodstuffs necessary to sustain both the Home Front and the war effort, was also a function of British naval supremacy. By contrast, the British were able to impose a blockade on Germany that, by the end of the war, had killed 750,000 Germans; they simply starved to death.

GUERRILLA WARFARE

The closest the Germans came to having a decisive effect at sea was, of course, at the height of the U-boat campaign. The Battle of the Atlantic rose to its supreme crisis in early 1917, the tonnage lost being 298,000 in January, 468,000 in February, 500,000 in March, and 849,000 in April.

This proved to be the wartime peak – the tide of battle was about the turn – but no one knew this at the time, and the shipping losses of early spring 1917 were unsustainable. 'During this month [April],' recalled Churchill, the former First Lord of the Admiralty, 'it was calculated that one in four merchant ships leaving the United Kingdom never returned. The U-boat was rapidly undermining not only the life of the British Isles, but the foundations of the Allies' strength; and the danger of collapse in 1918 began to loom black and imminent.'

The cruiser war of the first few months was a lesser version of the same danger: that posed by lone raiders moving unseen in the vastness

of the oceans. The Germans had not invested heavily enough in this weapon: prestigious battleships, not light cruisers, had been the Kaiser's priority. Because of this, there were only eight at large in August 1914.

Scharnhorst and *Gneisenau* were in the Carolines, *Emden* at Tsingtao, *Dresden* and *Karlsruhe* in the Caribbean, *Leipzig* off the Pacific coast of Mexico, *Nürnberg* on her way to join her, and *Königsberg* off the east African coast.

COAL, VICTUALS, AND WIRELESS

Few in number they may have been, but they were commanded by enterprising officers who were expected to act on their own initiative as independent commerce-raiders in the event of war, much in the way that Drake and the Elizabethan sea-dogs had preyed on Spanish shipping in the late 16th century. The Royal Navy, on the other hand, was poorly equipped to deal with them, lacking sufficient fast cruisers with adequate gun-power for the necessary search, pursue, and destroy missions.

Without a large overseas empire – and losing

ABOVE The destruction of the *Emden*, the most successful of Germany's First World War commerce-raiders.

most of the colonies she had early on in the war – Germany lacked stations for coaling, victualling, and maintenance and repair. The solution was a train of colliers, the dispatch of victualling ships from home, and the use of prize vessels as sources of coal, food, and water. As for maintenance and repair, this was often a matter of finding a secluded anchorage and then relying on the skills of the crew.

A major weakness was communications. The Germans established wireless stations where they could, but their codes were quickly broken, and interception was a key weapon in the tracking and eventual destruction of the raiders.

The expenditure of time and resources in eliminating the German cruiser threat was considerable. Had the Germans invested a fraction of the resources they invested in dreadnoughts in light cruisers, the war at sea might have proved very much more challenging for the Entente in 1915. •



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and the first
grave was one
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1814

Kalanga

THE BATTLE FOR THE GURKHA KINGDOM

Part of the British Army ever since, the Gurkhas were fierce enemies of the British in 1814. **Julian Spilsbury** reports on the battle for Nepal 200 years ago.





In 1814, as the British looked forward to victory in Europe, they were confronted by a new challenge in India. Having largely 'sheathed their swords for lack of argument' on the plains, they suddenly found their northern borders threatened by a hostile and aggressive neighbour – the Gurkha Kingdom.

The Gurkhas had overthrown the old dynasties of the Nepal Valley in 1768, establishing their rule over the whole of the lower Himalayas from the Sutlej in the west to the borders of Bhutan in the east. The proximity of two expanding empires was almost bound to end in war. After a series of incursions over the ill-defined border, a Gurkha attack in May 1814 on three police stations in Butwal, in which 18 policemen were killed, became the pretext for war.

INTO THE HIMALAYAS

The British Governor-General, Lord Moira, had learned of the problems of warfare in broken terrain in the Carolinas during the American War of Independence. Acting as his own commander-in-chief, he planned to invade Nepal – along a frontier of 700 miles – with four columns, while a fifth screened the northern border east of the River Kosi.

Of the four attacking columns, Major-General Marley's would advance from Patna upon the capital, Katmandu. Further west, Major-General Wood's column would advance upon Palpa, cutting Katmandu off from the west. In the west, one column would advance from Saharanpur between the Jumna and the Ganges under Major-General Rollo Gillespie, a second from Rumpur on the Sutlej under Colonel Ochterlony. The aim here was to catch the main Nepalese army, under Umar Singh, in a pincer.

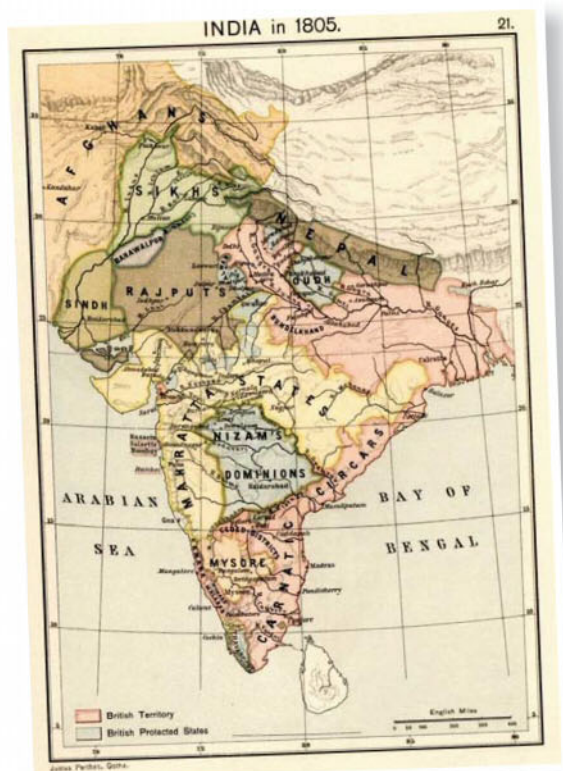
These operations were timed to commence between the 1 and 15 November 1814. Although it was known that the Nepalese army was trained along British lines and skilled in mountain warfare and night-time operations, little difficulty was anticipated. Recent experience on the plains of India suggested that the British and their sepoys would swiftly put the enemy to flight.

Faced with British numerical superiority and modern weapons, the Gurkhas adopted a defensive strategy, relying on the mountainous terrain, well-fortified stockades, the massed fire of matchlocks and light artillery, and ferocious rushes with their favoured hand-to-hand weapon, the kukri.

THE KALANGA POSITION

In early October, the four columns began moving forward from their depots. It was »

LEFT An assemblage of Gurkhas during the Anglo-Nepalese War, a territorial conflict between Nepal and the British East India Company, which lasted from 1814 to 1816.



ABOVE India at the time of the Anglo-Nepalese War was a complex patchwork of British-dominated territory, British-backed client states, and independent native kingdoms. The rise of the Nepalese Empire was a direct threat to immensely rich British territory in Bengal and northern India.

BELOW Map of the Kingdom of Nepal in the early 19th century, showing its greatest extent, the invasion routes followed by the British in 1814-1816, and the territory ceded at the peace.

The Gurkhas relied on well-fortified stockades, the massed fire of matchlocks, and ferocious rushes with the kukri.

General Gillespie's column that was the first to cross the frontier. Rollo Gillespie was considered one of the bravest men in the army. Having distinguished himself during the Vellore mutiny in 1806, he had personally led the storming party that captured Batavia – the capital of Java – in 1811. On his return, he had speared a tiger that had strayed onto Bangalore racecourse.

As Gillespie approached Dehra Dun, his opponent, the Gurkha commander Balbhuddar Singh, quickly saw that his force of 600 Gurkhas and Gharwalis was

insufficient to defend it, and he retired to a hill north-east of the city. This eminence – known as Kalanga – he proceeded to fortify.

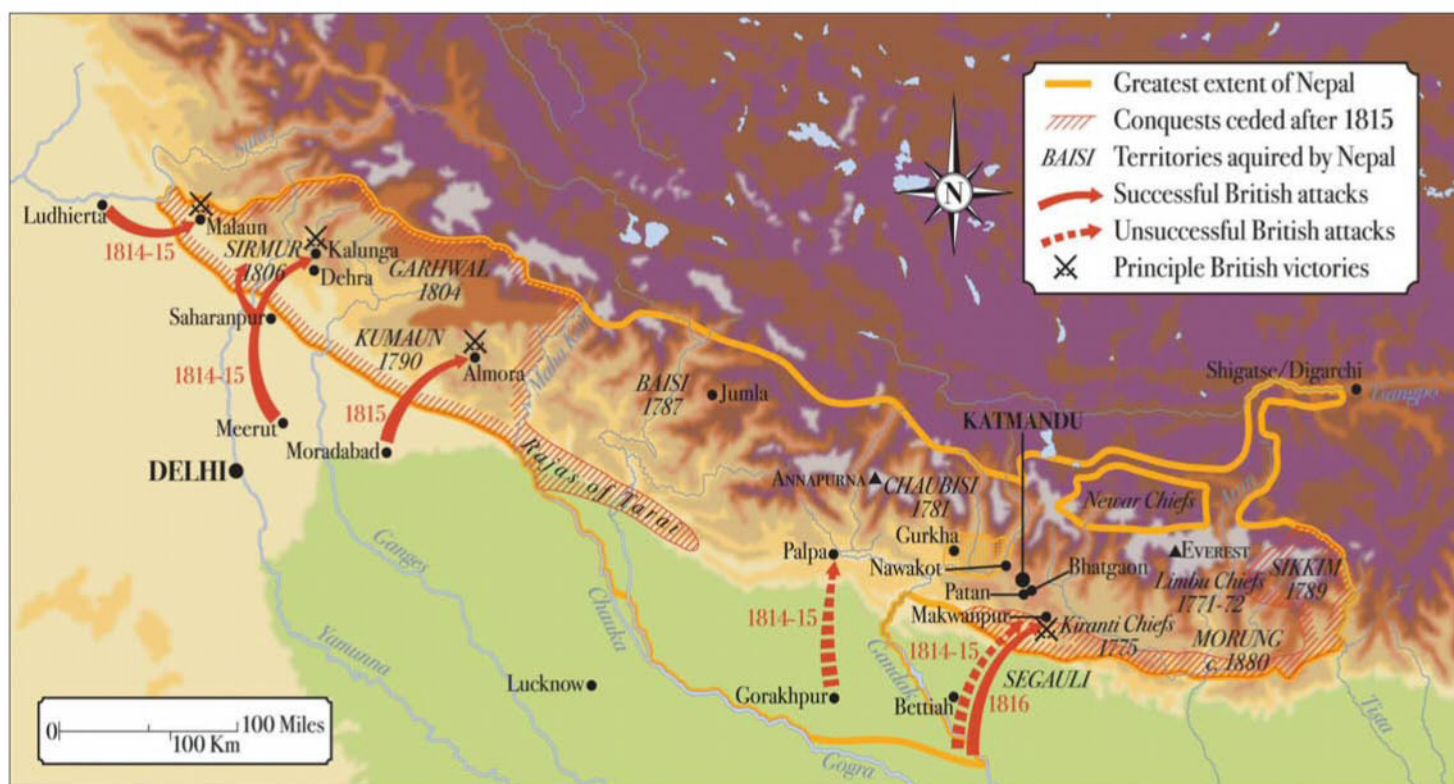
Of the enemy's position at Kalanga, Gillespie wrote: 'Here I am with as stiff and strong a position as ever I saw... The fort is on the summit of an almost inaccessible mountain, covered with an impregnable jungle, the only approaches stockaded, and stiffly stockaded. It will be a tough job to take it, but by the 1st prox. I think I shall have it.'

Accordingly, on the afternoon of the 30 October, he led a force consisting of two companies of the 53rd Foot and five companies of native infantry (approximately 600 men), supported by a reserve of 900 more native infantry, onto a plateau 800 yards from, and 400 feet below, Kalanga.

The plateau position was divided from the fort by the deep ravine of the Nala Pani River. Fire from light artillery in the fort and matchlockmen on a nearby hill did little to hinder Gillespie's deployment. Overnight, elephants dragged up two 12-pdrs, four 6-pdrs, two mortars, and two howitzers, and these were established in batteries by the following morning.

THE DRAGOONS' ASSAULT

At two o'clock in the morning, the bulk of Gillespie's advance force, divided into three columns of between 250 and 450 men, moved out, intending to attack the fort from north, east, and south. The remainder of his little army was to attack from the west. In all, some 2,500 men were to be involved in a simultaneous assault on the fort from all sides,



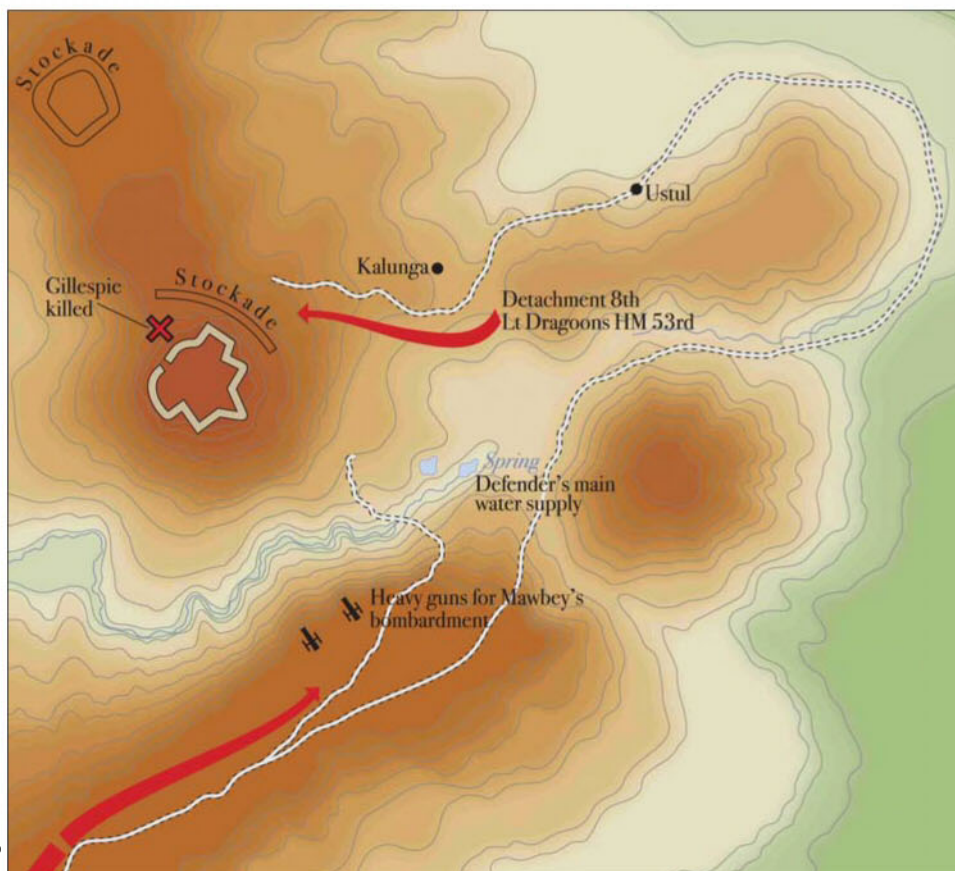


Image: Ian Bull

‘The fort is on the summit of an almost inaccessible mountain, covered with an impregnable jungle, the only approaches stockaded, and stiffly stockaded.’

Major-General Rollo Gillespie

timed to start at 9am. Two hours before this, signal guns were to be fired at headquarters to enable the respective column leaders to check their positions.

Gillespie's guns opened fire on the fort just before dawn, and were answered by the enemy's guns. Shortly afterwards, a Gurkha force appeared on Gillespie's right flank and was driven off in some disorder by the fire of a howitzer. Hoping to capitalise on their confusion and follow hot on their heels into the fort, Gillespie ordered an immediate advance.

The assault was led by about 100 dismounted men of the 8th Light Dragoons – Gillespie's old regiment – who had specifically requested this honour. With an abundance of 'cavalry spirit', they swept forward, overran a weak stockade, and, followed by a party of pioneers with ladders, rushed up to the walls of the fort.

Seeing that the dragoons had outdistanced their supports, the Gurkhas sallied out. In close combat on foot, the sabre proved no match for the kukri, and the dragoons were driven back with heavy losses.

When the infantry supports reached the scene, they were met with a hot fire of matchlocks and other missiles from the walls, as well as grapeshot in enfilade from a skilfully emplaced gun. After a few moments uselessly firing at the walls, the whole party fell back to the captured stockade.

THE 53RD FOOT JOIN THE FRAY

Meanwhile, nothing had been seen of the three other columns – possibly led astray by

treacherous guides. The fort was supposed to be under attack from all four sides: instead, the defenders were able to concentrate all their firepower on the main column. By 10.30am, when Gillespie himself entered the captured stockade with three companies of the 53rd and three 6-pdr horse guns, there was still no sign of the supporting columns. »

ABOVE LEFT The Battle of Kalunga, 31 October 1814, showing the difficult terrain and the British operations against the Gurkha stockades.

BELOW The death of Gillespie, leading the third failed assault on the Gurkha stronghold at Kalunga.



Image: WPA



In close combat on foot, the sabre proved no match for the kukri.

TOP LEFT Gurkha commander, perhaps Balbhuddher Singh, the defender of Kalanga.

ABOVE Gurkha warriors at the time of the Anglo-Nepalese War. Note the matchlocks, tulwars (curved swords), and kukris, the Gurkha's trademark weapon.

LEFT The Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal presented the British Army with one of the toughest terrain challenges in its history when it invaded in the early 19th century.

Pushing the three guns forward to within 25 yards of the walls, Gillespie launched the newly arrived troops into an assault. Their first attempt was quickly driven back to the shelter of the stockade; a second was similarly handled.

Drawing his sword, Gillespie rallied his wavering troops for a third attempt crying 'One more shot for the honour of Down!' – a reference to his youth in Ireland, where he was a noted duellist. Placing himself at the head of his troops, he led them forward once more.

This time they reached almost to the foot of the walls, before Gillespie was shot through the heart and killed instantly. His men fell back at once, and only the arrival of one of the three missing columns enabled the whole force to be extricated with some semblance of order.

British casualties, which fell most heavily on the European troops, were 225. The 8th Light Dragoons had lost more than half their number, five officers and 48 men, and the 53rd approximately a third, some 98 men.

MAWBHEY'S ASSAULT

Command of the column now passed to Colonel Mawbey, who decided to delay any further action until heavy artillery could be sent up from Delhi.

By 26 November, Mawbey had a battery of 18-pdrs in position. By one o'clock on the following day, they had battered a practicable breach, and an immediate assault was launched. The attack was to be made with unloaded muskets – relying on the bayonet alone.

The storming party, composed of grenadier companies, led by those of the 53rd, raced forward to the breach. The light company of the 53rd provided covering fire from both flanks.

Mounting the breach, the stormers found themselves faced with a sheer drop into the fort, with sharpened bamboo stakes at the base, surrounded by spear- and kukri-armed Gurkhas. The attack stalled – to jump down into the fort was certain death.

Mawbey's sepoys began firing at the ramparts, from which a heavy fire of matchlock bullets, grapeshot, arrows, and stones was

returned. Two guns brought to the foot of the breach by Lieutenant Luxford RA failed to drive the Gurkhas away with shrapnel, and in the breach Lieutenant Harrington of the 53rd was killed at the head of his men.

With casualties mounting, Mawbey called off the assault. The second attempt on the fort had failed with the loss of 480 men (220 from the 53rd). Total British casualties now amounted to more than the entire garrison of the fort.

BLOCKADE

Short of ammunition, Mawbey elected to cut the defenders' water-supply and access to provisions. A tight cordon was set up to prevent any attempt at a break-out, and, impressed by the Gurkhas' gallant and chivalrous conduct during the fighting, Mawbey gave orders that, when captured, the Gurkha leader Balbhuddher was to be treated with every consideration.

No such consideration was necessary, however. After enduring three days of mounting thirst, Balbhuddher Singh led 70 of his men in

a sally, broke through the British lines, and disappeared into the hills.

The British entered the fort at 4am to be confronted with the effects of their bombardment. 'The whole area of the fort was a slaughter-house,' wrote one British officer, 'strewn with the bodies of the dead and the wounded, and the dismembered limbs of those who had been torn to pieces by the bursting of the shells; those who yet lived piteously calling out for water, of which they had not tasted for days. The stench from the place was dreadful; many of the bodies of those that had been early killed had been insufficiently interred... The bodies of several women, killed by shot or shells, were discovered; and even children mangled, and yet alive, by the same ruthless engines.'

JYTUK

On 20 December, Major-General Martindell assumed command of the column, and at once planned an attack on the fortress of Jytuk, held by Umar Singh's son, Ranjur. Two columns were sent off, one to seize a high feature to the north of Jytuk, the other to attack Jytuk from the south.

The southern column, marching by night through difficult territory, soon became strung-out, its commander, Major Ludlow, arriving with only the grenadier company of the 53rd.

Eager to wipe out the memory of Kalanga, these pleaded to be allowed to attack a small outwork. No sooner had they done so, however, than they came under fire from three sides, and were driven back in confusion. Native troops arriving on the scene were swept away too.

The northern column, under Major Richards, having reached its objective by 8am, was soon afterwards attacked by the whole Gurkha force. It held out until 4pm, when, with ammunition running low, it was ordered by Martindell to withdraw.

The rearguard, from the 26th Native Infantry, was all but overwhelmed with the loss of its commander Lieutenant Thackeray. By the time Richards' column had returned to camp, it had lost 550 men and 10 British officers. Following this repulse, Martindell's column was too weak for any further offensive action.

KATMANDU AND PALPA

Meanwhile, Marley's advance on Katmandu had met with no better success. As he prepared to advance through the hills in three columns, Gurkhas from Makwanpur attacked

two of his outposts. The first, 300 men of the 22nd Native Infantry under Captain Blackney, was attacked at dawn and put to flight with the loss of Blackney himself, his second-in-command, and 225 men. The second, 350 men of the 15th Native Infantry under Captain Sibley, managed to hold off their attackers

They faced a sheer drop into the fort, with sharpened bamboo stakes at the base, surrounded by spear- and kukri-armed Gurkhas.

until their ammunition ran out and were then similarly routed with the loss of Sibley, a dozen European gunners, and 250 men.

These defeats seem to have unnerved both Marley and his men. Desertions among the sepoys prompted Marley to withdraw to his advance base at Bettiah, from which, on 10 February, he deserted himself, riding out of his camp before dawn without even nominating a successor. (Curiously, this does not seem to have harmed his career: he died a full general in 1842.)

To Marley's left, Major-General Wood had advanced from Ghorakpur on the 13 December, and 3 January found him facing a Gurkha stockade barring the route to his objective, Palpa. Eight companies of the 17th Foot, backed by two companies of sepoys, attacked the position frontally, while two more companies of the 17th advanced on a hill which commanded the stockade.

The Gurkhas resisted fiercely, and Wood, deciding that the position would be untenable even if taken, ordered a withdrawal before his men could close with the enemy. Although they had suffered greater losses than the British in what was little more than a skirmish, the Gurkhas, reasonably enough, »



RIGHT Colonel David Ochterlony (1758-1825), an Anglo-Irish maverick who 'went native' at the Mughal court but proved the most successful of Britain's commanders in the Anglo-Nepalese War.

'The whole area of the fort was a slaughter-house, strewn with the bodies of the dead and the wounded.'

British officer

BELOW The British used elephants to haul heavy guns during the Anglo-Nepalese War. The great beasts were not always willing participants.

claimed another victory. Wood withdrew to Lotan and abandoned all further attempts at offensive action.

OCHTERLONY'S CAMPAIGN

Only Ochterlony, had enjoyed any measure of success. American-born, the son of Boston loyalists, Ochterlony was to become as famous as Gillespie had been, immortalised as the 'Loner Ochty' of Indian lullaby. As British Resident at Delhi, he had adopted Mughal dress, and would regularly promenade with his 13 Indian wives (each on her own elephant) around the walls of the Red Fort.

Ochterlony's column was the western arm of the pincer that had been supposed to trap Umar Singh by advancing upon his headquarters at Akri. Faced with a series of mountain walls which he would have to cross before he could close with Umar, Ochterlony had advanced methodically, taking the first fortress in his way, Nalagarh, by bombardment with a loss of only half a dozen men on 5 November.

Ochterlony's success was in stark contrast to the performance of the other column commanders, of whom, by the beginning of 1815, one was dead, one had deserted, and two were frozen into immobility.

An experienced (if not a distinguished) soldier, Lord Moira now took measures to renew the offensive, sending his Quartermaster-General Nicholls with 2,000 regulars to advance on Almora in the far west, which he captured on 27 April 1815. Meanwhile, Ochterlony continued his push against Umar Singh, advancing with all the caution of a chess-player, clearing tracks through the mountains for his elephant-drawn heavy artillery.

ELEPHANT TRANSPORT

John Shipp, an officer of the 87th Foot, described the difficulty of urging elephants up some of these tracks. At one point, the lead elephant 'looked up, shook his head, and, when forced by his driver, he roared piteously... his driver made use of the most endearing epithets, such as "Wonderful, my life" – "Well done, my dear" – "My dove" – "My son" – "My life" – but all these endearing appellations, of which elephants are so fond, would not induce him to try again.'

Eventually, by removing more obstacles, the elephant was enticed to the top. 'On his reaching the top, his delight was visible in a most eminent degree; he caressed his keeper, and threw the dirt about in a most playful manner.'

Ochterlony's policy was to avoid costly assaults, and reduce Gurkha stockades from long distance with his heavy guns. Seizing the features he needed to further his advance, he built his own stockades, forcing the Gurkhas to make bloody and futile attacks.

This methodical approach brought Ochterlony's heavy guns before the walls of Malaon, Umar Singh's main fortress, by the second week of May. Receiving at this time news of the fall of Amora, Umar Singh reluctantly surrendered on honourable terms, turning over to the British all Gurkha positions in western Nepal.

ABORTIVE PEACE, RENEWED WAR

Their confidence shaken, the Gurkhas sent an emissary from Katmandu requesting peace terms. A period of negotiation followed, which took up most of the remainder of 1815, but the Gurkhas finally refused ratification, and Moira prepared for a second invasion of Nepal in early 1816.

This time, Ochterlony was to command the main column, which had previously been Marley's, and advance directly on Katmandu; Nicholls would command the column that had been Wood's, and a third column would invade Nepal from Kumaon.

During the negotiations, the Gurkhas had heavily fortified the main route to Katmandu

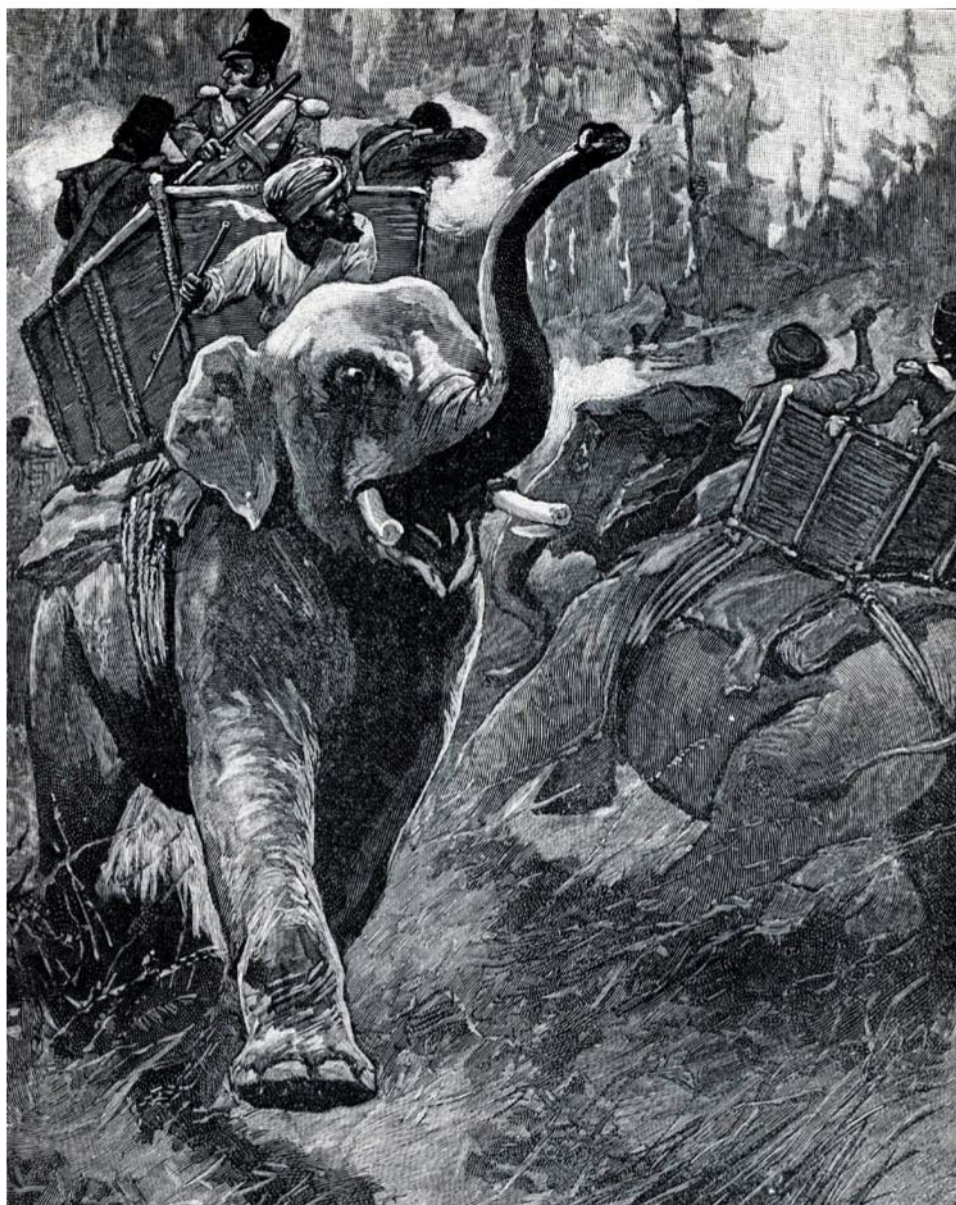


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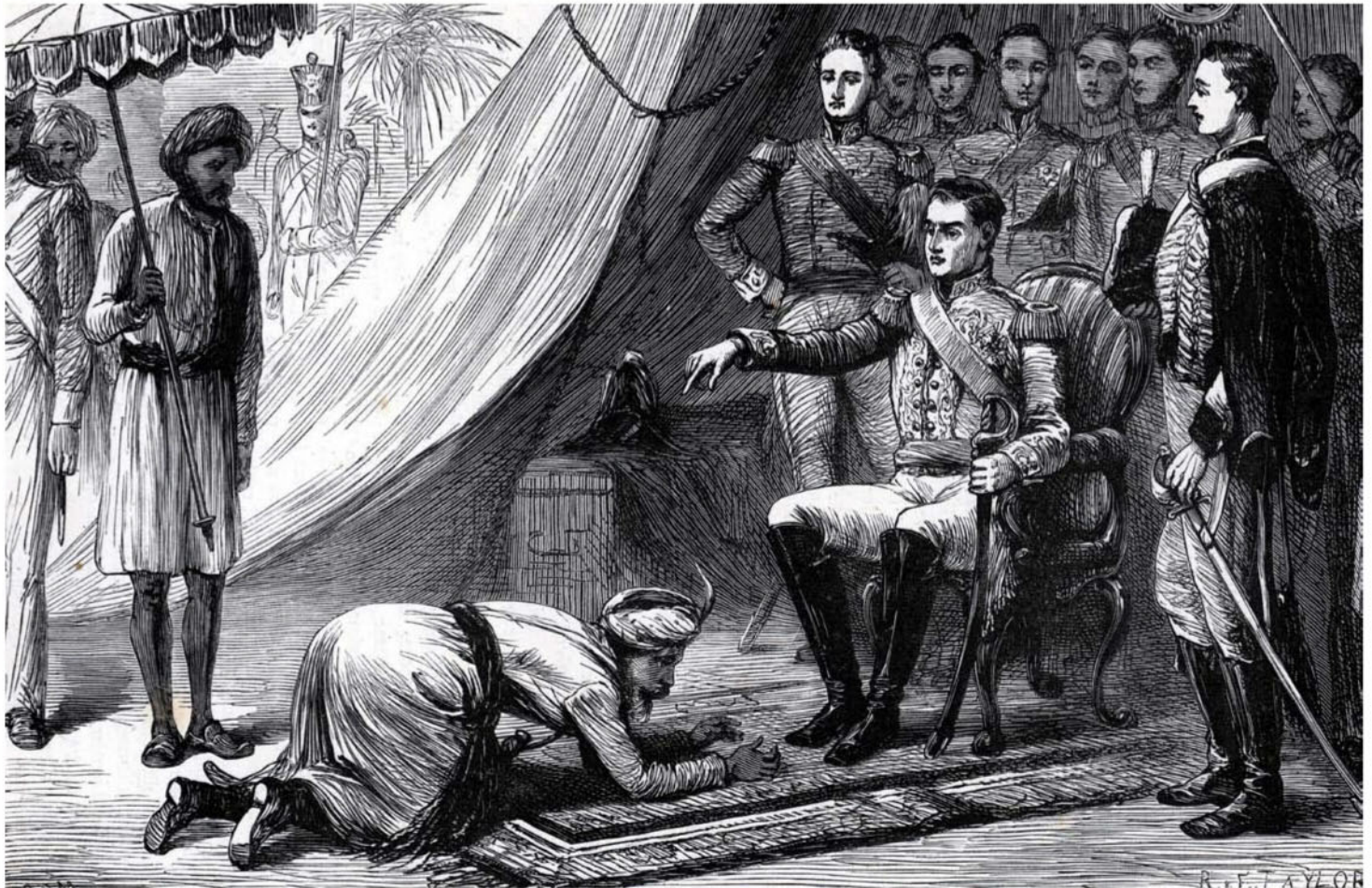


Image: WPL

– there was now a stockade at practically every bend in the road. Using the methods that had served him so well the previous year, however, Ochterlony chose an approach through the little-used Pass of Churiagati. This difficult and dangerous route brought his force, mostly composed of sepoys, onto the ridge where the Gurkhas' main fort stood, at Makwanpur.

On 28 February, the entire garrison came out in an attempt to dislodge Ochterlony's force, and a stiff fight ensued which ended with the Gurkhas being repulsed with 500 casualties. The following day, Ochterlony was joined on the ridge by Nicholls' brigade. Defeat at Makwanpur proved the final straw – Gurkha emissaries soon appeared before Ochterlony with the former proposed treaty, now finally ratified.

By the Treaty of Sugauli, Nepal lost only one-third of her territory. The British were reluctant to dismember entirely a country which was a useful buffer between British territory and China. They were satisfied with a British Resident in Katmandu.

KALANGA, THE GURKHAS, AND THE BRITISH ARMY

One clause in the treaty, however, was to prove of lasting significance. If the succession of bloody noses delivered to the British had encouraged Britain's enemies in India – in particular the Mahrattas and the Pindaris –

it had also alerted the British to the military qualities of the Gurkhas. In particular, such was their admiration of Balbhuddar Singh's stand at Kalanga that the British took the unprecedented step of raising a double monument, to both victors and vanquished, at Dehra Dun. And, according to the terms of the Treaty of Sugauli, the British were now permitted to recruit in Nepal.

Before the war was even over, a number of British officers, including Ochterlony himself, had been urging the wholesale incorporation of Gurkha soldiers into the Indian Army. Perhaps the leading enthusiast for this measure was Lieutenant Frederick Young, who, at about the time of Gillespie's disaster, was commanding about 4,000 hill-men under attack by a force of 200 Gurkhas.

When his men fled and Young stayed put, the Gurkhas called out to him, 'Why don't you run away, like your men?'

'I haven't come all this way just to run away!', Young called back to them.

The Gurkhas replied: 'We could serve under men like you.'

Captured shortly afterwards, Young was kept as an honoured prisoner, learned Gurkhali, and emerged a strong advocate of Gurkha recruitment. By the end of 1815, he had already recruited what became known as the Sirmoor Battalion, later the 2nd Gurkha Rifles. In his own words,

ABOVE Colonel David Ochterlony receives the surrender of the Gurkha defenders of Makwanpur at the end of the war.

'I came there one man. I came back three thousand.'

By 1817, the Sirmoor Battalion was in action in the Third Mahratta War: the first Gurkha battalion to fight for the British. The Sirmoor Battalion, together with a Nasiri Battalion, were the forerunners of the Gurkha regiments that served the British with distinction throughout the 19th century, in two world wars, and continue to do so today in the form of the 1st and 2nd Battalions, The Royal Gurkha Rifles.

'East is east,' the poem says, 'and west is west, and never the twain shall meet.' Kipling's poem is often misunderstood. The unique military relationship – between a mountain kingdom and an island one – that emerged from the Anglo-Nepalese War is certainly a vindication of the end of Kipling's verse: 'but there is neither east nor west, border nor breed nor birth, when two strong men come face to face, though they come from the ends of the earth.' •

Julian Spilsbury is a former army officer, and now a freelance writer and military historian. His books include The Thin Red Line, The Indian Mutiny, and Military Disasters.





AUGHRIM, 1691

Ireland's Bloodiest Battle

The Boyne is better known, but Aughrim was Ireland's most terrible battle. **Robbie MacNiven** tells the tale.

More so than any other clash of kings, the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 is still capable of enflaming fiery passions. Popularly viewed as the decisive engagement in one of Ireland's most defining wars, its anniversary on 12 July each year remains a public holiday in Northern Ireland, and is often the focus of sectarian tension.

The Battle of the Boyne was the last time two direct claimants to the British throne – on this occasion, the Protestant William of Orange and the Catholic James II – met in battle, and it was the largest battle ever fought on Irish soil, pitching almost 60,000 men at one another across the River Boyne.

It was not, however, either the bloodiest encounter of the Williamite War in Ireland, nor was it truly the decisive one. Those grim accolades belong to the Battle of Aughrim, fought a year later on 22 July 1691.

The drama of the Boyne has eclipsed Aughrim for over 300 years. The Boyne has captured the imagination – the Protestant Prince of Orange forcing the river crossings one by one, the counter-attacks of King

William knew that the Jacobites in Ireland had to be crushed before help arrived from the Continent.

James's French cavalry, the flight of Britain's last Catholic monarch.

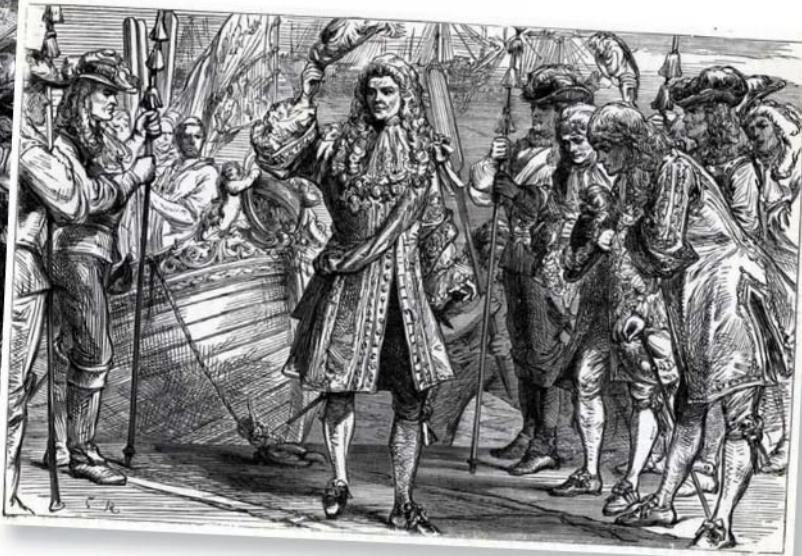
But for all its drama and scale, the battle resulted in barely 2,000 casualties, most of them wounded. Nor did it end James's hopes of a Stuart restoration, as is popularly depicted. In reality, the Jacobites withdrew to Connacht, where, protected by the River Shannon and a number of powerful fortresses, they licked their wounds. Louis XIV of France, James's close ally, was expected to send reinforcements. Had he done so, the Jacobites would have been restored to equal footing with William's Protestants. »

LEFT The defence of Londonderry in 1690, like the Battle of Boyne, became iconic. But the decisive battle – and the bloodiest – was Aughrim.



BELOW LEFT King William III – 'King Billy' – at the Battle of the Boyne.

BELOW The deposed King James II lands at Kinsale to raise Jacobite revolt in Ireland.



BELOW The three protagonists: James II, brother of Charles II and younger son of Charles I, was a Catholic ruler determined to reverse the outcome of the Reformation and Civil War, and establish an absolute monarchy in Britain. Overthrown in an internal coup and replaced by the Protestant Dutchman William of Orange – who was married to James's eldest daughter – he found support for his cause in Scotland and Ireland. The so-called 'Glorious Revolution' was, in fact, far from bloodless: it triggered three major Jacobite insurrections, in 1689–1691, in 1715, and in 1745.

THE AUGHRIM CAMPAIGN

William knew that the Jacobites in Ireland had to be crushed before help arrived from the Continent. To that end, into the lion's den of Connacht stepped Dutch Williamite general Godart de Ginkel in June 1691.

His army laid siege to the crucial Jacobite town of Athlone, which had already repelled a Williamite army in 1689. Ginkel's men stormed the town and, in bloody fighting, forced their way across the Shannon.

A strong Jacobite army under the command of James's foremost remaining general in Ireland, the French Marquis de St Ruth, hurried to block Ginkel's advance further into Connacht and preserve the ports that could yet provide a lifeline to France for the Jacobite cause.

St Ruth was an experienced commander who had sworn to die fighting and be buried in Ireland if necessary. He chose his battlefield well.

Images: WPL



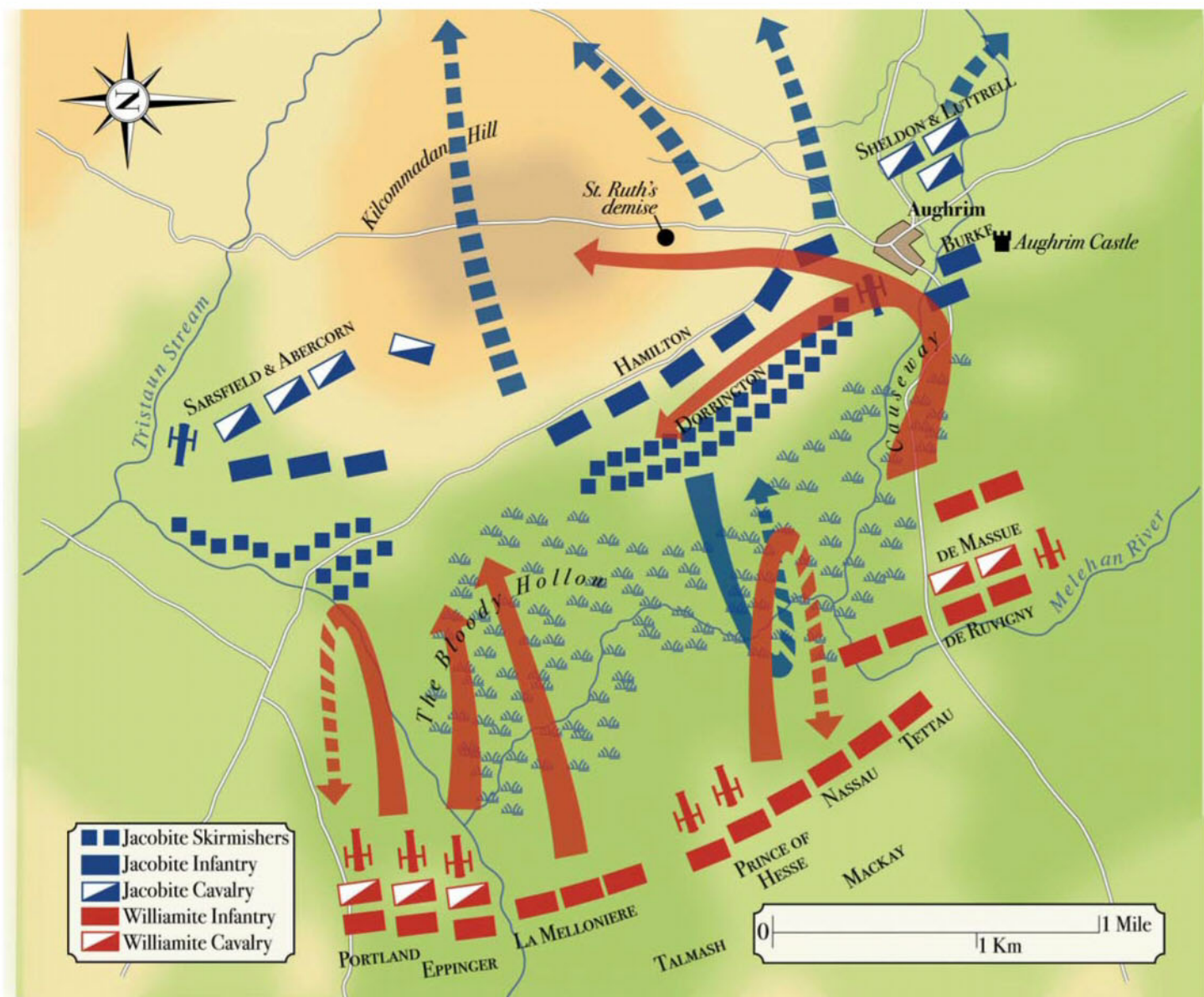
KING JAMES II (1685–1688)



KING WILLIAM III (1688–1702)



QUEEN MARY II (1688–1694)



At the heart of his position was Kilcommadan Hill, a long rise bisected by stone walls and hedges. To the left of the hill, facing away from St Ruth's front, were the village of Aughrim and the ruins of nearby Aughrim Castle, which dominated a narrow causeway of firm ground winding through an impregnable bog. The Jacobite right flank was more open, and St Ruth compensated by placing the largest detachments of his infantry and cavalry there. As a defensive position, a minister with the Williamite forces later wrote, 'nature itself could not have furnished him [St Ruth] with better'.

PHASE 1: THE FIRST WILLIAMITE ASSAULTS

Ginkel's army arrived to face the Jacobites in thick morning fog. As well as Irish, Scottish, and English Protestants, the Williamite alliance included Dutch and Danish regiments in its ranks, in addition to French Protestant Huguenot exiles.

Ginkel and his subordinates concluded from the Jacobites' deployment that St Ruth was concerned about his exposed right flank, and the Williamites began the battle there,

with a pinning assault designed to fix the enemy's attention.

These initial attacks, mounted mostly by Huguenot troops, were repulsed, and the Williamites dug in behind sharpened stakes, taking a withering crossfire from both their front and from Kilcommadan Hill to their right. Despite the grass under foot becoming slimy with their own blood, they held much of the Jacobite right flank in place throughout the day.

With both sides' artillery bombarding the other, the main Williamite assault now began on Kilcommadan. Ginkel's men had to wade through waist-deep bogland to reach the hill's slope, and then struggle to take each successive wall and hedge, the Jacobites giving ground but inflicting fearful losses as their opponents came on.

PHASE 2: THE JACOBITE COUNTERATTACK

Three efforts were made to crest the hill, each weaker than the last, and as the third petered out, St Ruth launched a counter-attack. The rampant Jacobites spilled down the hillside with the Williamites scattering before them. St Ruth pushed so far so fast that a number

The grass under foot became slimy with their own blood.

ABOVE The Battle of Aughrim, 22 July 1691, showing the terrain, the armies, and the three main phases of the battle - the initial frontal assaults of the Williamites, the main Jacobite counterattack, and the final Williamite assault on the Jacobite left, which pushed deep into the line on the ridge. The battle ended when St Ruth was killed at the head of his reserve cavalry (at the point indicated).

of Williamite cannons, deep in Ginkel's own lines, were overrun and spiked, rendering them useless. St Ruth was heard to shout that the day was his.

At this critical moment, one of Ginkel's subordinates, General Talmash, was able to marshal enough men around him to lead a counter-attack and, in furious fighting, »

A EUROPEAN STRUGGLE

It is telling that the decisive battle in one of Ireland's most famous wars was fought between a French and a Dutch general. The Williamite War in Ireland was of vital importance to a much wider conflict being played out across the breadth of Europe.

In 1690, Louis XIV had been King of France for 47 years, and he remained both a keen expansionist and a militant Roman Catholic. He had been at war with much of the rest of Europe since 1688, in what became known as the Nine Years War. His opponents, the 'Grand Alliance', consisted most notably of the Holy Roman Empire, Sweden, Spain, the soon-to-be unified kingdoms of England and Scotland, and the Dutch Republic. The alliance was headed by Louis' staunchest opponent, William of the Dutch House of Orange.

From a British perspective, William of Orange's help in deposing King James II in 1688's 'Glorious Revolution' had safeguarded Britain's parliamentary and Protestant liberties, but from William's point of view, becoming the King of England, Scotland, and Ireland gave him all the resources of the British Isles to use in his ongoing mainland war with Louis.

The French monarch was alert to the threat posed by William's new status, and he was therefore the natural backer of Stuart efforts to regain their throne. In this sense, the war in Ireland was a proxy one for Louis. That it was also a struggle between Protestant and Catholic strengthened the French King's commitment.

Interestingly, William's victory at the Boyne was not much noted in Britain for the first few weeks, overshadowed as it was by the loss of an English fleet to a French one at the Battle of Beachy Head. Elsewhere in Europe, however, it was far more



ABOVE King Louis XIV of France (1643–1715) – 'the Sun King' – who dominated Europe throughout his long reign, fighting a long series of wars to extend and defend his power. William of Orange was his arch-enemy, so French support for the Jacobites was a given.

celebrated, and helped cement the uneasy alliance of nations – Protestant and Catholic – battling against Louis under William's leadership.

retake the guns. The Jacobites, thrown into disorder by their own assault, scattered back towards their starting positions up on Kilcommadan Hill.

Ginkel's left flank was still pinning St Ruth's right, but was in no position to attack there, and his assaults in the centre had not only floundered with heavy casualties, but had almost led to a winning Jacobite riposte. His only remaining option was an assault on St Ruth's 'impregnable' left flank, the bog with its causeway dominated by Aughrim Castle. He drew up his cavalry reserves and launched a two-pronged attack, supported by the fire of his dismounted dragoons.

PHASE 3: THE SECOND WILLIAMITE ASSAULT

It was late in the day, and the sun was beginning to go down. If the Jacobite line was to be penetrated, it had to be now. Twice the Protestant cavalry charged and were thrown back by fire from Jacobites garrisoning the castle. A third, seemingly hopeless attempt was made, yet this time, miraculously, the castle's defenders stayed silent.

The Jacobites had started digging into their ammunition reserves, only to realise that the English-made musket balls they were using would not fit down the muzzles of their French-supplied muskets. Legend has it that some tried to fire buttons or pebbles, but most could only watch helplessly as Ginkel's muddy cavalry finally passed the causeway and pierced the Jacobite left.

The decisive moment for the Williamite forces had come and gone when St Ruth had pushed all the way to their cannon. Now the decisive moment for the Jacobites had arrived.



St Ruth had left a cavalry reserve for just such a situation, with orders to counter-attack any force that somehow succeeded in penetrating along the causeway. Now, however, instead of attacking, the Jacobite cavalry were ordered by their officer to simply turn and ride away. Whether or not there was treachery involved will likely never be known, though someone seems to have thought so – the commander who led the Jacobite cavalry in premature retreat was murdered in Dublin not long after the war ended.

PHASE 4: THE ABORTIVE JACOBITE COUNTERSTROKE

There was still time for St Ruth to avert disaster and turn the battle once more in his favour. He sought to marshal his remaining cavalry and direct his artillery's fire, but as he did so the death blow was struck, both figuratively and metaphorically, in the form of a Williamite cannon ball that took off the French general's head.

His second-in-command, De Tesse, attempted to retain control of the situation and launched the counter-attack himself, but was shot three times. These two deaths,

coupled with the disintegration of their left flank and the seeming relentlessness of the continual Williamite assaults, broke the spirit of the Jacobite army.

Although the two flanks orchestrated a successful withdrawal, those left still defending Kilcommadan Hill were enveloped, and many were cut down by Williamite cavalry as they attempted to flee across open ground on the reverse slope. The garrison of the castle overlooking the bogland, still bereft of ammunition, surrendered.

The outcome of the Battle of Aughrim had rested on a knife's edge almost since its opening. Perhaps if the Jacobite cavalry had not inexplicably withdrawn, or perhaps if St Ruth had not been decapitated at the crucial moment, the final Williamite assault would have collapsed.

On the other hand, while Ginkel's leadership was never particularly inspiring, his men had shown dogged determination, attacking the length of St Ruth's fearsome defensive position throughout the day. Their stoicism was rewarded by the battle's final outcome, which proved decisive both tactically and strategically.

The killed, captured, and deserted numbered 8,000 men, almost half the Jacobite »

THE 12TH OF JULY

The anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne each year on 12 July is still celebrated with great fervour by loyalists across Britain, particularly in Northern Ireland. However, until around the mid 20th century, the battle was traditionally commemorated on 1 July, with 12 July noted as the anniversary of the Battle of Aughrim. The date change was caused by a change in calendars.

In 1759, Britain finally aligned itself with the rest of Europe by adopting the new 'Gregorian'-style calendar. The change caused 11 days to be 'lost' from the previous calendar. Consequently, events that occurred before the change could be said to have actually happened 11 days later.

The Battle of the Boyne was originally fought on 1 July 1690, but after the calendar change is now recorded as having occurred on 12 July. Likewise, the Battle of Aughrim, which was originally fought on 12 July 1691, is now held to have been fought on 22 July and into the morning of 23 July.

Because of the changes imposed by the new calendar, the 12 July today serves as the celebratory date for both the Boyne using the Gregorian calendar, and Aughrim using the pre-Gregorian calendar.

The English-made musket balls the Jacobites were using would not fit down the muzzles of their French-supplied muskets.

OPPOSITE PAGE John Mulvaney's 1885 painting of the Battle of Aughrim captures the climax of the battle, the chaotic clash of cavalry as the Williamite forces, having broken through on the left, cut through the Jacobite line.

BELOW A view of the battlefield in later times – classic Irish countryside.





Image: WPL

army, and all the artillery and most of the supplies were also lost. Williamite losses stood somewhere between 2,000 and 3,000 men. It was said that the corpses, stripped of clothes and valuables, and left to rot in the battle's aftermath, looked from a distance like flocks of sheep scattered across the hillside. Ginkel had his victory, and the way into Connacht was now open.

THE LEGACY OF THE WAR

Within two months, the last Jacobite

A Williamite cannon ball took off the French general's head.

ABOVE The end of the struggle: the Jacobite remnant in flight following the surrender of Limerick.

strongholds of Galway and Limerick had surrendered, the former without a fight, and the Treaty of Limerick ended the Williamite War in Ireland. James's immediate hopes of regaining his throne had been crushed, and Louis XIV's continental machinations had suffered a body blow.

The Catholic landed gentry who had supported James had vast swathes of their land confiscated, though the common Jacobite foot-soldiers suffered little persecution.

The war was seized upon by Irish loyalists a century later when, having crushed the rebellion of 1798, many Protestants began harking back to the victorious campaigns of William of Orange as they formed defensive Protestant fraternities.

In their collective memory, the Boyne – when 'King Billy' personally put 'the Pretender' to flight – always loomed largest. The Boyne would have been little remembered, however, had Ginkel's men been thrown back one last time, and Louis XIV possibly seen fit to flood Ireland with fresh French armies. Without Bloody Aughrim, the war would have dragged on, and the final result might have been very different. •

Robbie MacNiven is a University of Edinburgh graduate currently enrolled on the War Studies programme at the University of Glasgow.

THE POPE AND THE PRINCE OF ORANGE

More so than even the likes of Oliver Cromwell or Gustavus Adolphus, the popular image of William III is as the greatest 17th-century champion of Protestantism, particularly in Britain. In reality, however, political imperatives had seen successive Popes actively support William in his conflict with Louis XIV, possibly even helping to fund the Prince of Orange's seizure of the British throne in the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688.

Louis' Catholicism had proven too zealous even for the Vatican's liking, and Pope Innocent XI aligned himself with William's Grand Alliance (later known as 'the League of Augsburg'), a stance upheld by his successor, Pope Alexander VIII, after ongoing disputes between the Church and Louis.

The Vatican authorised William's personal bodyguards, the Dutch Blue Guards (who were themselves mostly Roman Catholics), to fly the Papal banner while crossing the Boyne under Jacobite fire, and when Alexander heard of William's victory there, he had the Vatican illuminated in celebration and ordered a special *Te Deum* to be sung giving thanks for William's delivery. It had initially, falsely, been reported that William had not only lost the battle, but had been killed; the relief when this mistake was corrected was palpable in the Vatican.

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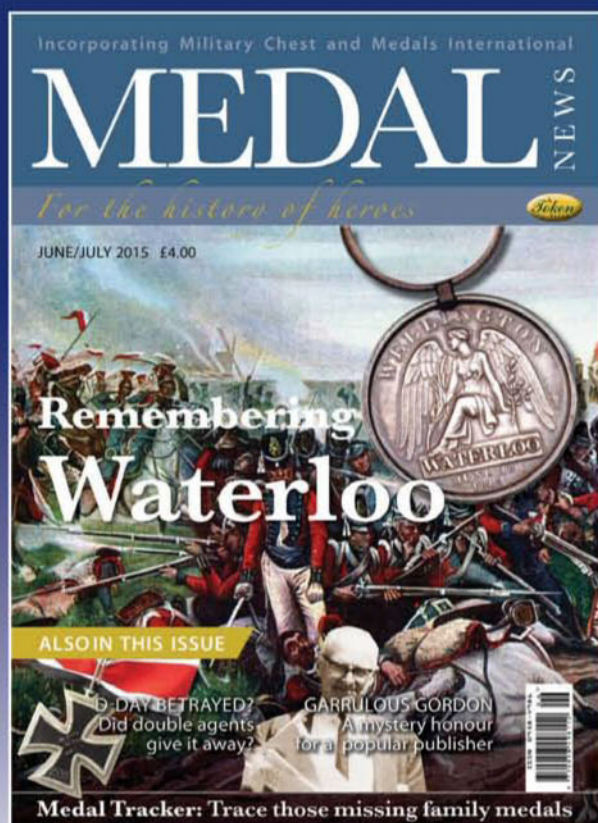
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THE

DEBRIEF 07/15

JULY Each month, the Debrief brings you the very best in film and book reviews, along with suggested historical events and must-see museums. Whether you plan to be at home or out in the field, our team of expert reviewers deliver the best recommendations to keep military-history enthusiasts entertained.



TOWARDS THE FLAME
Empire, War and the
End of Tsarist Russia
DOMINIC LIEVEN

MHM REVIEWS

60-68

Hirohito's War by Francis Pike, *The End of Empire* by George Nafziger, and *Famous by My Sword* by Charles Singleton. Jules Stewart reviews Dominic Lieven's *Towards the Flame*, and Taylor Downing revisits a drama-documentary about two major WWI naval battles.

RECOMMENDED
***Towards the Flame*
by Dominic Lieven**



BOOKS

WAR ON FILM



MHM VISITS

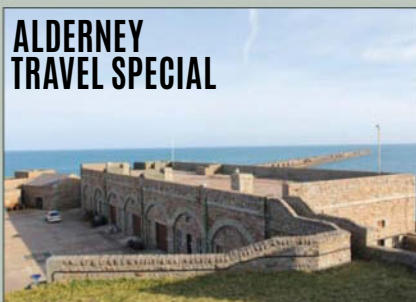
70-77

HIGHLIGHT
**Dad's Army
Museum
in Thetford,
Norfolk**

MUSEUM GUIDE



ALDERNEY TRAVEL SPECIAL



Alderney, where George Clode investigates the island's extensive military history. We also recommend a family history workshop and a lecture on Dunkirk.

LISTINGS



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80-82

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CAPTAIN COMPETITION



BRIEFING ROOM

WAR ON FILM

TAYLOR DOWNING REVIEWS A CLASSIC WAR MOVIE



FILM | CLASSIC

THE BATTLES OF CORONEL AND FALKLAND ISLANDS

BFI £14.99

The *Battles of Coronel and Falkland Islands* (1927) is a must-see for anyone interested in 20th-century naval warfare. British Instructional Films, which specialised in spectacular reconstructions of First World War battles that would today be called drama-documentaries, made the film in the silent era as a re-enactment of two great naval battles of 1914.

They collaborated with the Admiralty, which loaned them seven warships that are filmed at sea and in dock. The film captures the lost world of giant coal-powered warships of 100 years ago: what Churchill called 'gigantic castles of steel'. Some of the scenes celebrating the technology and firepower behind the Navy's great battle-cruisers echo

the Russian epic *Battleship Potemkin* (Sergei Eisenstein, 1925).

The film has been superbly restored by the BFI National Archive, with a specially recorded musical accompaniment written by Simon Dobson and played by the Royal Marines Band. It now looks as impressive as it would have done to its first audiences.

However, do not expect slavish respect for historical accuracy. The Battle of Coronel remains as controversial today as it was a century ago. The British relish making catastrophic defeats into heroic moral victories, like the Charge of the Light Brigade or the evacuation from Dunkirk.

The Coronel and Falkland Islands helps to endorse the myth that the

BRITISH INSTRUCTIONAL FILMS

The name British Instructional Films might not be familiar, but their images certainly are to anyone who watches television documentaries. From the early 1920s, British Instructional reconstructed at Elstree a series of Great War battles, including *The Battle of Jutland* (1921), *Mons* (1922), and *Ypres* (1925). They paid meticulous attention to detail, although most of the films still had a propagandist feel.

The Coronel and Falkland Islands was the most ambitious of their films, using seven ships loaned by the Admiralty. Documentary-makers have repeatedly used sequences from their films on TV, especially to cover the early years of WWI, when cameramen were not allowed near the Front and there is no authentic film. Series like the BBC's *The Great War* (1964) relied heavily on staged scenes from British Instructional. John Buchan, the author and official wartime propagandist, was on the board of the company. Walter Summers, who directed *Coronel and Falklands Islands*, was a first-rate director who went on to direct feature films in the 1930s, among them *The Return of Bulldog Drummond* (1934). British Instructional Films later merged with another documentary production company to become Gaumont-British Instructional.

Coronel was 'a defeat as glorious as a victory'. Indeed, the film played a crucial role in presenting the story of the battle in the way the Admiralty wanted it to be told. No doubt this was the reason that they agreed to provide the film-makers with seven of the finest ships of the line.

It is difficult today, when the Royal Navy is probably weaker internationally than it has been since the 17th century,

to imagine the mind-set of Edwardian Britons. For almost everyone, British power meant sea power. The existence of the empire and the maintenance of international trade, which Britain relied on for its international status, was utterly dependent on the Navy.

Britannia not only ruled the waves but it was the duty of governments to ensure it continued to do so. This had been challenged by the German Imperial Navy under Kaiser Wilhelm II, who had begun a threatening ship-building programme. Still, at the naval review at Spithead in July 1914, the Royal Navy could present the most powerful fleet in the world: it took six hours to pass the King in the royal yacht.

However, defending all the oceans of the world still presented a challenge to the Admiralty. The Germans had built a fleet that could proudly stand up against the Royal Navy – not in terms of total tonnage or firepower, but in terms of individual warships manned by skilled Admirals and highly trained crews.

GUNNERY SPECIALIST

Vice Admiral Count Maximilian von Spee was one of these Admirals. He specialised in gunnery. In the summer of 1914, he was in command of the East Asian Squadron, based at the small German colony of Tsingtao on the north Chinese coast. His squadron consisted of his flagship the *Scharnhorst* and its sister-ship *Gneisenau*, two modern armoured cruisers capable of 22 knots. They each carried eight 8.2-inch guns, and both crews had won prizes for their gunnery. Supporting them were three light cruisers, *Emden*, *Leipzig*, and *Nürnberg*, small and fast at 25 knots, each with ten 4.1-inch guns.

When war broke out, von Spee sent the *Emden* as a lone raider to attack Allied shipping in the Indian Ocean, but decided to keep the rest of his squadron together and headed across the Pacific towards the coast of Chile. Here were substantial German interests and he could be certain of obtaining the coal necessary to keep his squadron at sea. Reinforced by another light cruiser,



Dresden, von Spee arrived off the Chilean coast after a voyage of 12,000 miles at the end of October.

The British Pacific fleet was split between Hong Kong and Singapore. Its duties were, along with the relatively new Australian Navy, to protect commercial shipping and military transports bringing troops to Europe. Rear Admiral Sir Christopher 'Kit' Cradock was put in charge of a South Atlantic squadron, tasked with protecting the sea lanes. His flagship was HMS *Good Hope*, an old cruiser capable of about 20 knots and armed with two 9.2-inch guns; its crew was mostly reservists. Supporting him were HMS *Monmouth*, an armoured cruiser with no heavy guns that had been due to be scrapped when the war began; HMS *Otranto*, a converted liner, also without heavy guns; and the one modern light cruiser he had, HMS *Glasgow*, fast at 25 knots, and armed with two 6-inch guns.

CROSSED WIRES

Cradock was sent confusing instructions by the Admiralty to go in search of von Spee, expected to arrive somewhere along the coast of Chile. To support this mission, Cradock was allocated HMS *Canopus*. A pre-Dreadnought battleship that was very slow at 15 knots and due to be scrapped, it had been recommissioned and sent to the South Atlantic. Its saving grace was four 12-inch heavy guns. Cradock was also told that HMS *Defence*, a fast armoured cruiser, would be sent out to him.

In October, Cradock set off with his small squadron of four ships to round Cape Horn and head into the Pacific. The Admiralty had decided not to send him *Defence*, but had not told him this. Nor was it explained how his slow-moving force was supposed to track and intercept a faster squadron of ships that outgunned them. However, with *Canopus* trailing slowly behind him and still hoping for *Defence* to arrive, Cradock reached the Chilean coast at the end of the month.

This is roughly the point at which the central narrative of *Coronel and Falkland Islands* begins. When von Spee picks up an intercepted message that the British squadron is off Coronel, he sails towards them at full speed. The crew of *Glasgow* spot the approaching Germans. In the film, Cradock appears to have only seconds to make the 'fateful choice' of 'fight or run'. In reality, he had known for some time that the odds were stacked heavily against him.

He had warned the Admiralty, and said he urgently needed *Defence* to join his squadron, but only confusing messages had been sent in return, particularly those relating to *Canopus*.

In the film, the central player in the Admiralty is Jacky Fisher. He was a controversial character who had retired as First Sea Lord aged 70 in 1910. But his successor, Prince Louis of Battenberg, was hounded by a hysterical press because of his German name and, at the end of October, Fisher was brought out of retirement to replace him.

Many of the confusing messages sent by London to Cradock were sent in the few days of crisis around Battenberg's resignation and Fisher's return. They bear the mark of Winston Churchill, First Lord and political master of the Admiralty, who regarded himself as a great naval strategist.

CRADOCK'S COURAGE

Cradock had made it clear to several friends that he knew he was unlikely to defeat von Spee's faster and better-gunned ships, but hoped he might be able to damage or deter them. Most of all, he did not want to appear to lack courage or determination like Admiral Troubridge, who had failed to pursue the German warships *Goeben* and *Breslau* in the Mediterranean and allowed them to escape to Turkey, a decision for which he was court-martialled.

So Cradock decided to confront the German squadron at Coronel. The two squadrons met on the late afternoon of 1 November 1914: the result was a foregone conclusion. Von Spee managed the situation brilliantly, waiting to open fire until the early evening, when Cradock's ships were silhouetted by the setting sun. German gunnery proved far superior to that of the British reservists.

The film follows the key actions in the battle, which only lasted 50 minutes. *Scharnhorst* quickly put out of action the two 9.2-inch forward guns on *Good Hope*. Closing in for the kill, she sank *Good Hope* in flames, losing all hands, including Cradock. *Gneisenau* concentrated on *Monmouth*; she too was hit badly, and there were no survivors when she sank. Both *Glasgow* and *Otranto* managed to get away.

The British could afford to lose two semi-obsolete cruisers, but they had also lost 1,600 sailors, including an Admiral. And the Royal Navy had decisively lost its first major battle in over 100 years.

In the film, there are wild scenes as Londoners rush to buy newspapers »

ADMIRAL LORD FISHER

John 'Jacky' Fisher joined the Royal Navy in 1854, aged 13. The navy he entered was made up of sailing ships that fired muzzle-loading cannons from wooden decks. Rising through the ranks, he was made a Captain in his mid 30s, and an Admiral in his late 40s. Although he served at sea in many vessels, most of his significant postings were on home stations.

Fisher strove to find ways of making ships faster and weapons deadlier. Becoming First Sea Lord at the Admiralty in 1904, he was a great naval reformer, introducing the Dreadnought class of battleship, encouraging the use of submarines and torpedoes, and launching a new class of battle-cruiser. He was also impetuous and easily roused. He retired in 1910, but built a close friendship with Winston Churchill, who became First Lord at the Admiralty.

Fisher returned at the end of October 1914, and spent seven turbulent months at the Admiralty before resigning over Churchill's Dardanelles policy. Fisher was a well-known figure: it is revealing that he is the central Admiralty decision-maker in the film; Churchill only appears once. Fisher cannot be blamed for the disaster at Coronel, as he only returned to the Admiralty after the fateful and confusing signals had been sent to Cradock. He can, however, be credited with victory at the Falkland Islands, as he sent *Invincible* and *Inflexible* from the Grand Fleet to reinforce the South Atlantic squadron.

announcing 'Disaster at Coronel'. Churchill was quick to put the blame on Cradock for failing to follow orders to wait for *Canopus*. This was desperately unfair. The Admiralty signals had been confusing, and had failed to tell Cradock for some weeks that *Defence* was not being sent to reinforce his squadron.

Certainly, Cradock had led his ships to almost certain defeat but he did not want to go down as a British Admiral who had refused to engage the enemy. The Battle of Coronel was a disaster waiting to happen when old, poorly equipped ships were sent against newer, better armed vessels.

With Fisher back in charge at the Admiralty, he quickly sent instructions for Admiral Jellicoe to send two of his newest battle-cruisers from the Grand Fleet in Scotland to the South Atlantic. They were to join a cruiser squadron and defeat von Spee when he had, as expected, crossed into the Atlantic.

Speed would be of the essence.

HMS *Invincible* and *Inflexible* set sail immediately, and were reconditioned and supplied at Devonport dockyard. At this point Churchill makes his one (unnamed) appearance in the film, ordering the ships to leave in haste.

In the film, Fisher appoints Vice Admiral Sir Frederick Sturdee as commander of the South Atlantic force. In reality, Fisher could not abide Sturdee, and wanted rid of him from his desk job in the Admiralty. Churchill appointed him as commander of this new force to get him out of the way.

There is a tremendous sequence in the film when an army of workers

descend on the two battle-cruisers in dry dock and carry out a major refit. Riveters, welders, carpenters, and painters work through the night. The film shows hundreds of tonnes of supplies being taken aboard.

Sturdee, on *Invincible*, led the ships 7,000 miles to the South Atlantic in four weeks. *Invincible* and *Inflexible* were both armed with eight 12-inch guns, and had a maximum speed of 25 knots. When they arrived off Brazil, they were joined by a cruiser squadron that included HMS *Glasgow* and *Kent*.

There was an incident here that is not included in the film, when Sturdee allowed the crews to rest up. Captain Luce of *Glasgow* suggested they should sail as soon as possible for the Falkland Islands. Sturdee, who usually did not like senior officers making their own suggestions, resisted, but eventually agreed saying, 'Very well Luce, we'll sail tomorrow.' Had Luce not persuaded Sturdee to sail, they would not have arrived at the Falkland Islands in time.

Von Spee, meanwhile, had enjoyed the fruits of victory. The film shows him and his senior officers at a lavish party hosted by the German community in Valparaiso in Chile. A German proposes a toast, 'To the Eternal Damnation of the British Navy'.

But von Spee refused to drink to this, and proposes a more gentlemanly toast to 'a gallant enemy'. He is given a bouquet of flowers as a tribute to his victory, but knowing the Royal Navy would be planning to hunt him down, he apparently remarked that the flowers would equally serve for his funeral.

IN HOT PURSUIT

In a leisurely fashion, von Spee led his squadron around Cape Horn and into the South Atlantic. His objective was to capture the isolated coaling and wireless station at Port Stanley in the Falkland Islands. What von Spee did not know, as he approached the Falklands, was that *Canopus* had been grounded in the bay to provide heavy guns for the island's defence, and that Sturdee and his cruisers had just arrived in harbour.

The film has a section of comic relief, as a motley group of young and elderly volunteers on the Falklands train to defend their islands. It is a real 'Dad's Army': one old boy forgets to bring his rifle, and has to run home for it.

Von Spee is sighted off shore early in the morning of 8 December, but Sturdee and his squadron are coaling up. Sturdee orders his ships to cease coaling and to get steam up as soon as possible. There is a great sequence in which the stokers shovel coal frantically, and the ships' boilers slowly build up sufficient pressure for them to sail.

The surprise was on both sides, as von Spee had no idea Sturdee and his squadron were at the Falklands. When he realised the British squadron's size, he found himself in the same position Cradock had been in, knowing he was facing a superior force. The battle that follows provides a suitable climax to the film. Von Spee heads away from the island, and Sturdee gives chase. Acting rather like Sir Francis Drake, Sturdee does not rush into battle, ordering the men on his ships to have a good lunch before calling Action Stations.

Naval battles are notoriously difficult to film, taking place over vast distances, but the *Coronel and Falkland Islands* does a good job. With Sturdee's faster ships catching von Spee's squadron, the German Admiral orders his fast cruisers to scatter, while *Schamhorst* and *Gneisenau* turn to engage the British.

Sturdee orders his light cruisers to pursue the cruisers, while *Invincible* and *Inflexible* take on the battle-cruisers. It is difficult to follow who is who, as it was on the day, because so much thick black smoke was belching from the funnels of the many ships trying to manoeuvre for the best firing position.

There is a thrilling sequence as mighty engines throb and pistons pump, powering these huge 'castles of steel' across the ocean. The music of Simon Dobson adds greatly to the impression of the rhythm of the engines. *Leipzig* is swiftly caught and sunk. At 18,000 yards, the British ships open fire. Soon *Schamhorst* is also hit and in flames.

As it looks like she is going down, Sturdee orders a ceasefire so the Germans can surrender. Instead the *Schamhorst* fires back at *Invincible*, so Sturdee orders the gunners to open fire again and finish off the German vessel. Von Spee goes down with his ship.

Meanwhile, the Captain of *Gneisenau*, also badly mauled by the British 12-inch guns, scuttles his vessel. Hundreds of sailors dive into the sea and, along with the ship's dog, are rescued by the British. *Kent* races after *Nürnberg*, but runs low on fuel having not been fully coaled up.

The crew throw all the wood they can into the boiler, including the chaplain's piano. She keeps up, and sinks *Nürnberg*. The German squadron is destroyed; Cradock and his men have been avenged. In the last shot, the Red Ensign flies over the South Atlantic as a new day dawns.

The battle was a welcome victory. It was a reminder that Britain's sea power was reliant on modern ships with the speed and firepower to stand up to the German navy. Only *Dresden* had got away, for which Fisher blamed Sturdee. But the film does not go into this.

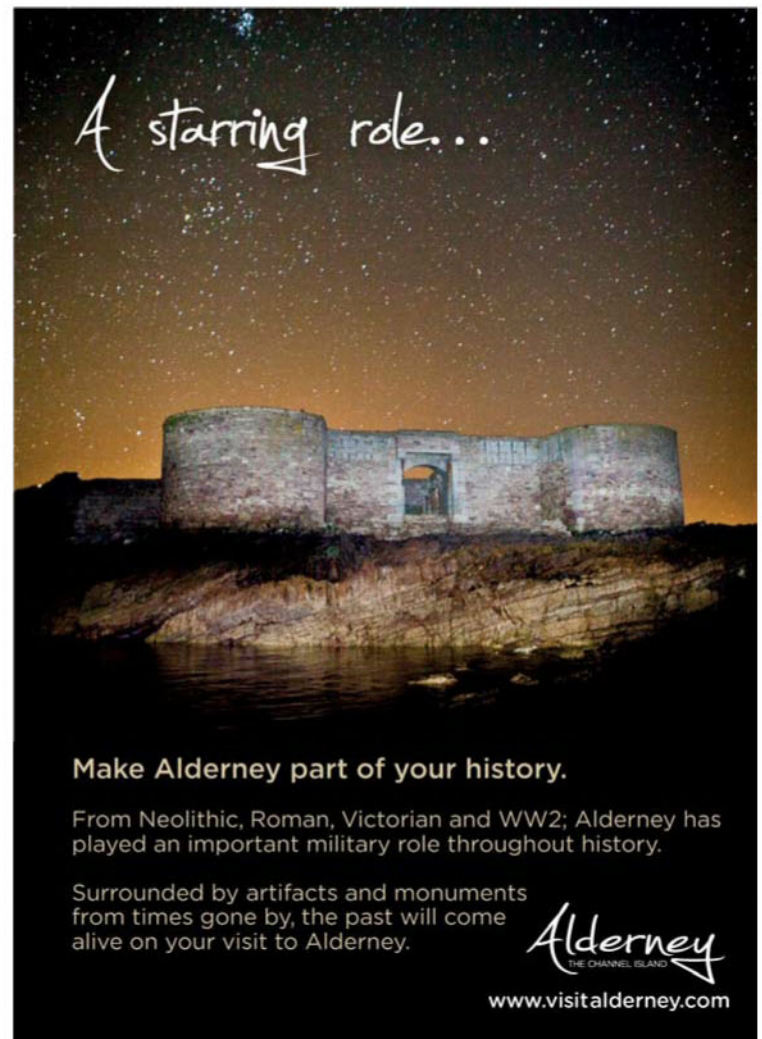
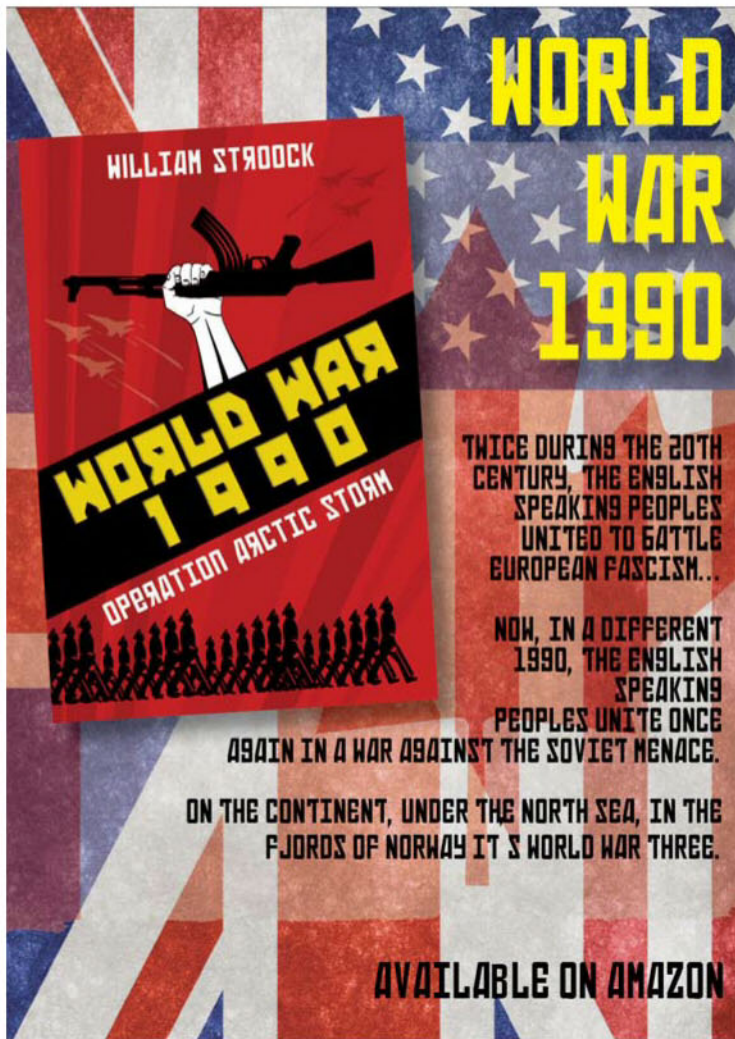
The tragedy of Coronel should not have been allowed to happen. But Churchill never admitted the Admiralty had made mistakes. That was why the Navy was keen to support British Instructional Films in the making of the *Coronel and Falkland Islands*, knowing the film-makers would make the disaster into an heroic triumph.

The BFI have done a splendid job in selecting this film for restoration and in giving it such a fine makeover, as well as commissioning and recording an excellent musical accompaniment. Certainly the film contains scenes of great melodrama, as was common in the late 1920s, but its superb restoration helps put these relatively little known naval engagements back in public view 100 years after they took place. •

THE BATTLES OF CORONEL AND FALKLAND ISLANDS (1927)

Director: Walter Summers. **Producer:** H Bruce Woolfe.

Restored by the BFI National Archive, with a musical score composed by Simon Dobson. British Instructional Films. A BFI DVD.



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BOOK OF THE MONTH

WITH JULES STEWART

TOWARDS THE FLAME: EMPIRE, WAR AND THE END OF TSARIST RUSSIA

Dominic Lieven

Allen Lane, £25.00

ISBN 978-1846143816



It is a timely fact of history that the First World War turned on the fate of Ukraine. 'Without Ukraine's population, industry, and agriculture, early 20th-century Russia would have ceased to be a Great Power,' Dominic Lieven argues in his account of imperial Russia and its catastrophic decision to go to war in 1914. The author further emphasises that if Russia had collapsed, Germany stood a good chance of emerging as the dominant power in Europe.

Ukraine's strategic importance to Russia helps to explain Moscow's almost fanatical current determination to hold the Crimea and grab whatever it can of the rest of the country. The Ukrainians were always the most numerous people of Russia apart from the Russians themselves. Their land was the most important industrial arsenal and Russia's largest granary.

In the early 20th century, Ukraine supplied more than half of Russia's coal, 60 per cent of her iron ore, 50 per cent of all steel, and 70 per cent of winter wheat. These facts in themselves determined the significance of Ukraine in the general planning of Russian policy.

One of the strengths of Lieven's book lies in the enormous amount

of new material brought to light from Russian and other archives, but he also has superb credentials as the author of five previous historical works on Tsarist Russia. The author spent the best part of a year researching his book in seven Russian archives, crucially that of the Foreign Ministry in Moscow.

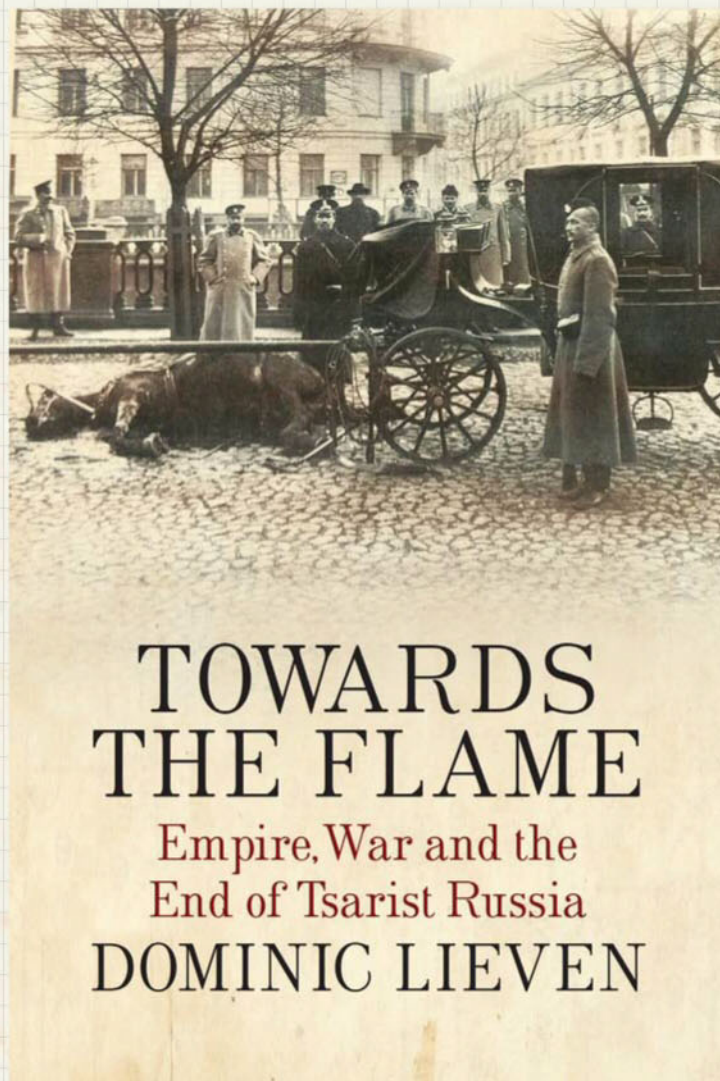
REVOLUTION'S ORIGINS

Towards the Flame places Russia where Lieven believes it belongs – at the very centre of the history of the First World War. Above all, this is a study of Russia's part in the war's origins, in the way that the conflict developed, and its long-term consequences. In this sense, it might be called a Russian history of the First World War, but also an international history of the Russian Revolution, concentrating mostly on the revolution's origins.

A key premise is that the First World War represented the source and origin of most of the catastrophes that subsequently afflicted 20th-century Russia; therefore, an understanding of why the war happened is crucial.

From the war, Lieven points out, came revolution, civil war, two famines, collectivisation, and Bolshevik

**A stalemate in the West
and victory in the East were
within Germany's power.**



dictatorship and terror. The disaster of July 1914, the book maintains, also owed much to miscalculation and brinksmanship by key decision-makers, an area which the author explores in depth.

Lieven acknowledges that probably no event in history has been researched more minutely than the origins of the 1914-1918 conflict. In the same breath, he says that Western European historians are unlikely to unearth major new evidence and, in these terms, Russia is the last frontier.

RUSSIAN PERSPECTIVE

The book looks at the international crisis of 1914 from a Russian and

East European perspective, instead of the usual London, Paris, or Berlin viewpoint. Lieven makes the point that, although in military terms the war was won on the Western Front, the 1919 peace was lost in the East.

The war fought between Russia and the Germanic powers of Central Europe ended in the destruction of all three empires, while the peace of Versailles was made against and without Germany and Russia. This, Lieven alleges, made the Second World War, which began in Eastern Europe, all but inevitable.

The book argues that had there not been a war in 1914, the Bolsheviks might still have emerged victorious, but they would not have been able

RIGHT An engagement in Hungary between an Austro-Hungarian force and a body of Russian cavalry who had crossed the Carpathians from Galicia.



to hold power. European intervention in peacetime would have been far more effective and devastating than was the case in 1917-1920.

'It is a complete illusion,' writes the author, 'to imagine that the European Great Powers in peacetime would have allowed Russia to secede from the international system and set itself up as the headquarters of international Socialist revolution.' Lieven claims that the Germans in particular would have never allowed in peacetime the German communities in Russia or the German elites in the Baltic provinces to be destroyed. There would have been a European intervention, headed by the German Army, which would have almost certainly succeeded.

BELOW One of the last photographs taken of Nicholas II, showing him at Tsarskoye Selo after his abdication in March 1917.



The Germans, in fact, played a significant role in encouraging the Revolution: Lenin, for instance, would not have returned to Russia without German help. The war was crucial in changing the whole aspect of the Russian Revolution.

SECURITY, INTERESTS, AND IDENTITY

Russia's policy has always been founded on security, interests, and

identity. This book tells us that in 1914, security meant fear of German power, as well as Russia's alliances with France and Britain in the name of stabilising the European balance of power. Interests meant the need to control the Strait of Constantinople, or the Bosphorus, while identity is Russia's leadership of the Slav people.

Russia has always had expansionist and destabilising ambitions in the Bosphorus. Britain had Suez and almost the whole of Egypt, while America had annexed a large slice of Central America to build the Panama Canal. But both are a good deal less important for the UK and US than is the Strait for Russia, for there was no alternative route to export Russian goods.

Another key point Lieven makes is in his analysis of the international context and comparisons from the Russian perspective. The First World War was really about the crisis of empires and nationalisms. In the immediate sense, the Germans and Austrians were responsible for launching the July 1914 crisis, as was the case of Britain in Suez in 1956. The difference was that, whereas in 1956 Washington put the brakes on British imperialism, in 1914 Berlin fanned the flames of crisis and pushed the Austrians forward.

The importance of Washington's role cannot be overstated, according to Lieven. 'The Germans nearly won the First World War and would have achieved victory if the US had not entered at the very moment that the Bolshevik Revolution was taking Russia out of the conflict,' he says. 'Without America and Russia,

France and Britain could never have defeated Germany.'

UNSTABLE PEACE

The Germans failed to defeat its two most potent enemies on the Western Front, but in reality it did not need to win militarily. A stalemate in the West and victory in the East were within Germany's power. The great tragedy is that, although American intervention brought about victory on the Western Front, the peace which it created was wholly unstable.

With the end of the war, America went home, the British retreated from Continental Europe, and the French were incapable of maintaining the European settlement on their own. The Treaty of Versailles was created contrary to the interests of Germany and Russia, and without these two countries on board there was no chance of a stable European settlement.

Thus, the longer term consequence of the First World War was the Second World War. 'For Russia,' Lieven maintains, 'the great tragedy is that the two million Russians who died in the First World War died for nothing and Russia needed to fight this war all over again in 1941-45.'

Towards the Flame explains why Russia took the suicidal step to go to war. It delves into the world of those who made the decision, thereby consigning their entire class to death or exile, and making their country the victim of a terrible political experiment under Lenin and Stalin. The Russian attempt to deter Germany before 1914 resulted in defeat, revolution, civil war, and the Bolshevik dictatorship. •

BOOKS

THE BEST NEW MILITARY HISTORY TITLES THIS MONTH

HIROHITO'S WAR: THE PACIFIC WAR, 1941-1945

Francis Pike

Bloomsbury, £29.99

ISBN 978-1472596703

Recent military commemorations have focused almost exclusively on the First World War and VE Day. Francis Pike's 1,109-page blockbuster reminds us that more than 31 million combatants and civilians lost their lives in the war fought in the Pacific and East Asia. Hopefully this will be acknowledged on 2 September, when we celebrate the 70th anniversary of VJ Day.

Pike is uniquely placed to research and produce a history of Japan during the Second World War. He has had nearly 40 years of first-hand experience in Japan and other Asian countries, as an investment banker and fund manager, before turning to writing in 2009 with a modern history of Asia.

He has spared no effort in creating what is likely to stand as the definitive reference book for students of the Pacific War. The book contains a wealth of detail on subjects such as logistics, the economic situation of the chief belligerent powers, submarine warfare, and the dreaded kamikazes. It also contains no fewer than 178 maps.

A niggler: the maps, as well as several hundred pages of notes, timelines, bibliography, and assorted

appendices, are only accessible online – an unorthodox and not altogether satisfactory arrangement.

Pike's approach is to tell timeline narratives based on individual campaigns rather than across multiple campaigns, with each chapter analysing specific campaigns or battles. This approach reflects some of the war's unique characteristics, such as the matter of sheer geographical scale, taking into account the fact that the European battlefield covered an area of some three million square miles, while the expanse of the Pacific War was nearly ten times greater. The book highlights another fact, that the war in Europe was mainly two-dimensional – fought on land and in the air – while in Asia it was fought on land, sea, in the air, and undersea.

'As a consequence of these special characteristics,' the author says, 'the Pacific War was probably the most complex conflict geopolitically, geographically, and militarily since the Thirty Years' War of 1618-1648.'

Pike throws up a challenge to the standard version of Pacific War history and its assumptions on the causes of the conflict. Taking the war back to its origins, he explains that America's

problem was Japan moving in the opposite direction to the global model envisaged by US leaders.

As early as September 1941, three months before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese government was shifting rapidly away from the free-trade doctrine towards a system of autarky. Washington was uncomfortable with Japan's expansion as a colonial power, with expanding Japanese control of the region's strategic raw materials. Japan greatly feared what it perceived to be America's determination to control Asia and its markets, and this led to the rise of ultra-right wing and nationalist leaders.

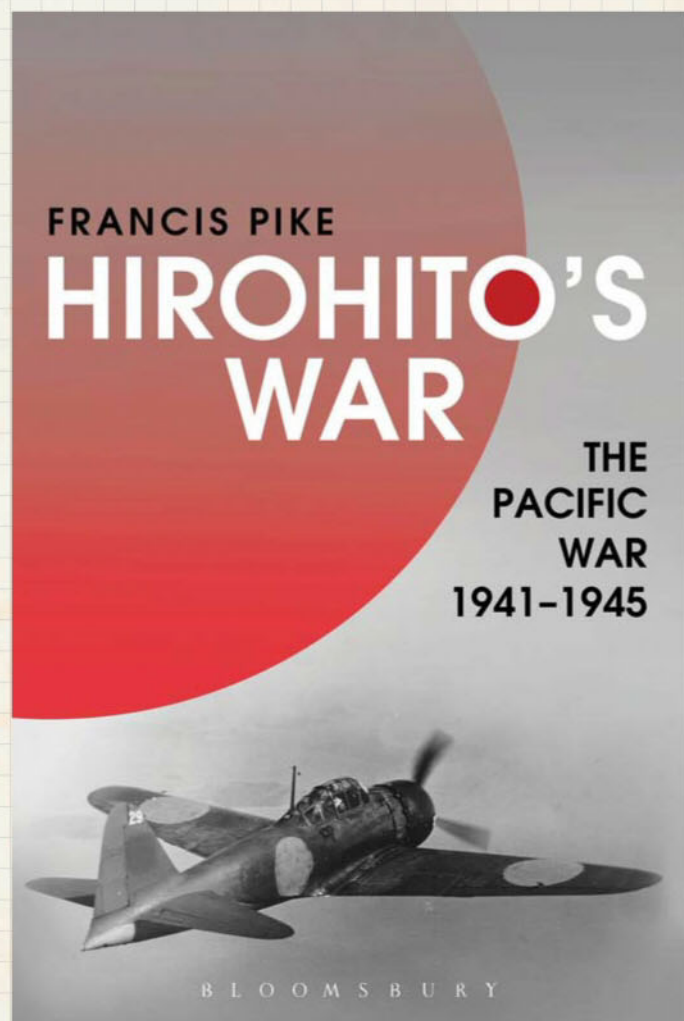
The Japanese Prime Minister Hideki Tojo had put forward a manifesto that emphasised his country's determination to take on the US (as well as Britain and the Netherlands) on all fronts, including war if necessary. In fact, preparations for war were to be completed within two months. 'Autarky was a philosophical difference

that was one of the root causes of the looming conflict between the two countries,' Pike explains.

The author offers a penetrating analysis of the atom-bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There was deep division among military leaders over this weapon, which Admiral William Leahy, Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, likened to 'an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages. I was not taught to make war in that fashion, and wars cannot be won by destroying women and children.' But the bombs were dropped. Churchill, taking the opposite view, welcomed the news as 'a miracle of deliverance'.

Pike has thoroughly researched this dark episode in modern warfare, and advances the traditional argument that the dropping of the atom bomb saved millions of lives in the slaughter that would inevitably have ensued from a land war with Japan.

JULES STEWART



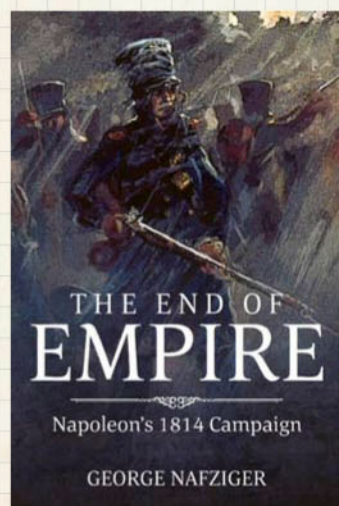
The Pacific War was probably the most complex conflict geopolitically, geographically, and militarily since 1648.

THE END OF EMPIRE: NAPOLEON'S 1814 CAMPAIGN

George Nafziger

Helion & Company, £37.50

ISBN 978-1909982963



From one point of view, Napoleon's failures are clear. Irresponsibly ambitious in his 1812 invasion of Russia, which decimated the Grande Armée, Napoleon lost his reputation of invincibility. Though continuing to fight, the tide had turned against him, and he suffered a catastrophic defeat in the Battle of Leipzig in 1813.

Beaten back to France itself, Napoleon fought, and often won against the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, but the writing was on the wall. Paris fell in April 1814. The Emperor abdicated, was exiled to Elba, came back a year later, lost everything at Waterloo, and was banished to St Helena – as near to the middle of nowhere as could be found. It was all over.

However, modern histories of Napoleon's downfall usually miss what is arguably most fascinating about his story. During the 1814 campaign, for example, his defeat was often in doubt, as traced by George Nafziger in *The End of Empire*. Put plainly, Napoleon could act more swiftly than many of his enemies, even after grinding setbacks. Typically, as long as there was a chance to win, the 'French God of War' refused the fate his enemies had in mind. No wonder Europe put him as far away as it could in the end.

In his mammoth new study, Nafziger focuses on Napoleon's highly determined, even frantic efforts after the Grande Armée was forced behind the Rhine. The difficulties were immediate: a shortage of soldiers and equipment, limited cash flow, and his enemies in France itself. And yet Napoleon fought, directed his Marshals, reassured the Parisian government, planned for different outcomes in the field, and hardly ever lost faith in his own military star.

Nafziger narrates episodes from each of the 1814 campaigns in detail. There are many stories of bridges being destroyed and rebuilt, fierce skirmishes, and big set-piece battles. Frequently, luck seemed not to be against Napoleon, as his Marshals (and sometimes he) failed to grasp opportunities to smash Field Marshals Barclay de Tolly (Russia), Blücher (Prussia), and Schwarzenberg (Austria).

And yet Nafziger carefully describes the other times, when the Allies faltered against the opportunistic Grande Armée. For example, during the battles of Champaubert, Château-Thierry, Montmirail, and Vauchamps – known as the 'six marvellous days' – Napoleon was resurgent. The 1814 campaign should not have been as difficult as it was for the Allies, Nafziger notes, given their superior army sizes and stronger supply lines. The problem was an uncommon enemy.

The End of Empire is built on Nafziger's somewhat exhausting attention to detail. He includes over 80 appendices, listing the orders of battle. His text notes troop movements, skirmishes, engagements, and battles with supreme unhurriedness, not reflecting the pace of the events it describes. Also, he can fail to deliver memorable insights, often appearing to be weighed down by facts and numbers.

Despite its limitations, *The End of Empire* is fascinating. Nafziger does not shy away from describing Napoleon's occasional missteps, but his focus remains on the surprising time it took for him to be defeated. Of course, Europe would find out soon that the 1814 end of empire was not quite the end of the story.

ANDRE VAN LOON

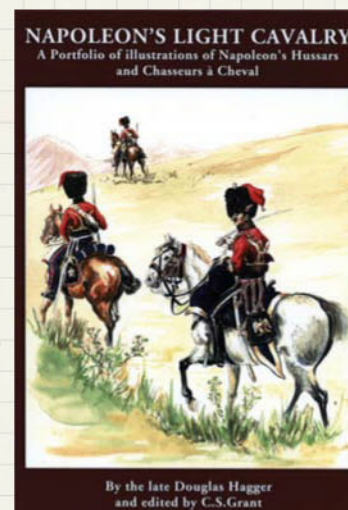
NAPOLEON'S LIGHT CAVALRY: A PORTFOLIO OF ILLUSTRATIONS OF NAPOLEON'S HUSSARS AND CHASSEURS À CHEVAL

Douglas Hagger, edited

by C S Grant

Partizan Press, £27.50

ISBN 978-1858186948



Illustrators of military uniforms are a small and dedicated band, and the recent death of the veteran illustrator Doug Hagger (1926-2013) prompted some who knew and admired him to publish this exceptional portfolio of his work. It was uncovered while Bob Marrion was helping Doug's widow to sort through the mass of files and watercolours that he had left behind.

Doug Hagger was born in Newham, in east London, and he spent his entire working life in public service in that borough. He had served in the RAF during the Second World War – he was a wireless operator in India and Burma – and one of his two great interests as a military illustrator was First and Second World War aircraft. His other principal interest was the cavalry of the European powers from the Napoleonic period until the outbreak of the First World War.

Hagger's watercolour paintings were his hobby, not his job, although retirement in 1981 afforded him far more time to indulge his passion. Regular visits to the National Army Museum then bore fruit in a series of images of British cavalry from c.1800.

Although he was not a commercial artist, throughout his life many of Hagger's illustrations were published, notably in the *British Model Soldier Society Bulletin*, *Tradition Magazine*, and *Military Modelling*. The highpoint of his artistic career was surely a trilogy of books produced on the Imperial German Cavalry from 1900 to 1914. This was published in 1975 in collaboration with two colleagues.

The illustrations in this volume – presented across 75 full-page colour plates – have a strong unifying theme. It was a wise decision of editor Charles Grant, fellow illustrator Bob Marrion, and publisher Dave Ryan (of Partizan Press/Caliver Books) to make it so, giving the book a value to military modellers and wargamers with specialist interests that it would not otherwise have.

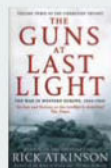
The style of the illustrations is simple and clean, with figures in a range of jaunty poses, but always arranged in such a way as to maximise the uniform and equipment details in view. The aim is not to depict the patched and mud-splattered appearance of the campaigning soldier, but to supply a painstakingly accurate depiction of the ideal: that is, to provide a reliable guide to those interested in creating their own reconstructions of these uniforms.

Doug Hagger was fascinated by the details, and obsessed with getting them right. 'If ever one needed to know a specific answer to a question on the minutiae of dress of a particular regiment,' recalls Bob Marrion, 'invariably Doug could supply the answer.'

The book deals only with the French light cavalry of the Napoleonic Wars. But many other illustrations have been unearthed, depicting, among others, dragoons and cuirassiers, Imperial Guard cavalry, and line infantry. If this first volume of Doug Hagger's work sells, more published collections will follow. Let us hope so: these fine images deserve to be seen.

NEIL FAULKNER

ON THE HORIZON



The Gun at Last Light: the war in Western Europe, 1944-1945
Rick Atkinson
Little, Brown, £35
ISBN 978-1250037817

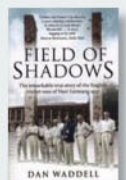
A stirring final volume of a monumental trilogy, this book completes a definitive chronicle of the Second World War.



Gold Run: the rescue of Norway's gold bullion from the Nazis, April 1940
Robert Pearson
Casemate, £19.99

ISBN 978-1612002866

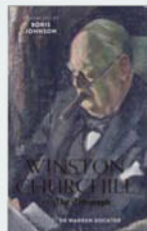
A detailed and fascinating account of a little-known episode from WWII, and a rare victory against the Germans in the darks days of 1940.



Field of Shadows: the remarkable true story of the English cricket tour of Nazi Germany 1937
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Edited by Dr Warren Dockter
Aurum Press, £16.99
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A celebration of the intimate connection

between the war-time Prime Minister and the *Telegraph*, which shows Churchill in all his paradoxical glory.



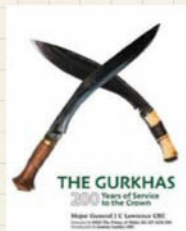
The Ariadne Objective
Wes Davis
Corgi, £8.99
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A story of the gentleman spies who teamed up with Cretan partisans to hatch a daring plot to abduct the island's commander.



Hitler's Last Day: minute by minute
Jonathan Mayo and Emma Craigie
Short Books Ltd, £14.99
ISBN 978-1780722337

A pure chronological narrative, as seen through the eyes of those who were with Hitler in those last tumultuous hours.



THE GURKHAS: 200 YEARS OF SERVICE TO THE CROWN
Major General J C Lawrence
Uniform Press, £40.00
ISBN 978-1910500026

In 1814, the East India Company was pushing Britain's Indian Empire northwards. Simultaneously, the kingdom of Nepal was expanding in the opposite direction towards the Indian frontier. When the inevitable clash of arms took place, at a remote hill fort in Kalanga, the British force – consisting of 4,000 seasoned troops – took an astonishingly high number of casualties in the month it required to capture the fort, which was held by only 650 Nepalese soldiers.

The garrison's defenders were Gurkhas, men of the central Nepal highlands famed for their ferocious martial skills. The British quickly recognised this as an opportunity to make use of these hill people's fighting capabilities, and in April 1815 the East India Company formally authorised the recruitment of four battalions of Gurkhas.

Thus began a relationship which, over the past two centuries, has seen Gurkha troops fighting alongside their British comrades in every major conflict, from the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 to the Falklands campaign of 1982, and most recently on operations in Afghanistan.

In fact, one of the most celebrated actions of the Gurkhas was during the Mutiny, when at the siege of Delhi they fearlessly repulsed 26 separate attacks by rebel forces. The Gurkhas also made an outstanding military contribution in both world wars. The Great War saw nearly 91,000 Gurkhas in the service of the Crown, taking 20 per cent casualties and winning three Victoria Crosses. In the Second World War, 138,000 Gurkhas served with British and imperial troops, and again suffered high losses, with more than 7,500 dead. To date, the Brigade of Gurkhas has been awarded 26 Victoria Crosses, a clear recognition of their extraordinary bravery in combat.

The author, Major General J C Lawrence, was commissioned into the 2nd King Edward VII's Own Gurkha Rifles in 1984. He has served with the Gurkhas in eight countries, and commanded Gurkhas on operations in Bosnia and on the Ivory Coast. As current Colonel of the Royal Gurkha Rifles, he is uniquely placed to provide an authoritative account of this remarkable military bond. The book is highly readable as well as informative, and has the added attraction of being lavishly illustrated on every page.

JULES STEWART



FAMOUS BY MY SWORD: THE ARMY OF MONTROSE AND THE MILITARY REVOLUTION
Charles Singleton
Helion & Company, £16.95
ISBN 978-1909384972

There can be few more Romantic figures to come out of the British Civil Wars than James Graham, 1st Marquis of Montrose. Tales of his annus mirabilis in 1644-1645, where he led his foes a merry dance across the Scottish Highlands, are the stuff of legend.

But while his status as a hero, established by his own chaplain and secretary, and reinforced by historians right up to the 1980s, has been challenged, until now there has not been an in-depth analysis of his Royalist army and its tactics, placing it in its contemporary European context.

For author Charles Singleton, Montrose's army is not the first 'Jacobite' army, as other authors have concluded, but an army typical of the mid-17th century. As the author points out, the use of irregular infantry – in this instance, highlanders – was not something unique to Montrose, as other European armies of the time included irregular troops. And, shattering another popular legend, the irregular element of Montrose's army never accounted for more than 40 per cent of the whole.

The 'military revolution' debate is several decades old now, but, surprisingly, it has frequently overlooked Scotland, something that Singleton seeks to address here by highlighting the developments in European warfare introduced to Scotland (and Ireland) by returning mercenaries.

Singleton also points out that, generally speaking, battles and campaigns of the 17th century were seldom conclusive: Montrose himself was victorious six times, yet was never able to win Scotland for Charles I. To further emphasise this point, of the number of battles fought during the English Civil War, only three had the potential to be decisive in terms of winning the war.

Overall, this is a well-written and very nicely illustrated book, and as such is an important addition to the study of the wider British Civil Wars, as well as being a solid introduction to the Montrose rebellion itself.

DAVID FLINTHAM

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ALDERNEY UNCOVERED

A TRAVEL SPECIAL
WITH **GEORGE CLODE**



01

The island of Alderney has a varied and turbulent military history stretching back to AD 300. Covering just under 1,000 hectares at high tide, the island is a mere 10 miles from Normandy, making it one of the first potential obstacles for anyone planning an invasion of England from France. As a result, the heavy fortifications range from strategically placed Nazi machine-gun points from WWII to Victorian barracks and Napoleonic-era gun batteries.

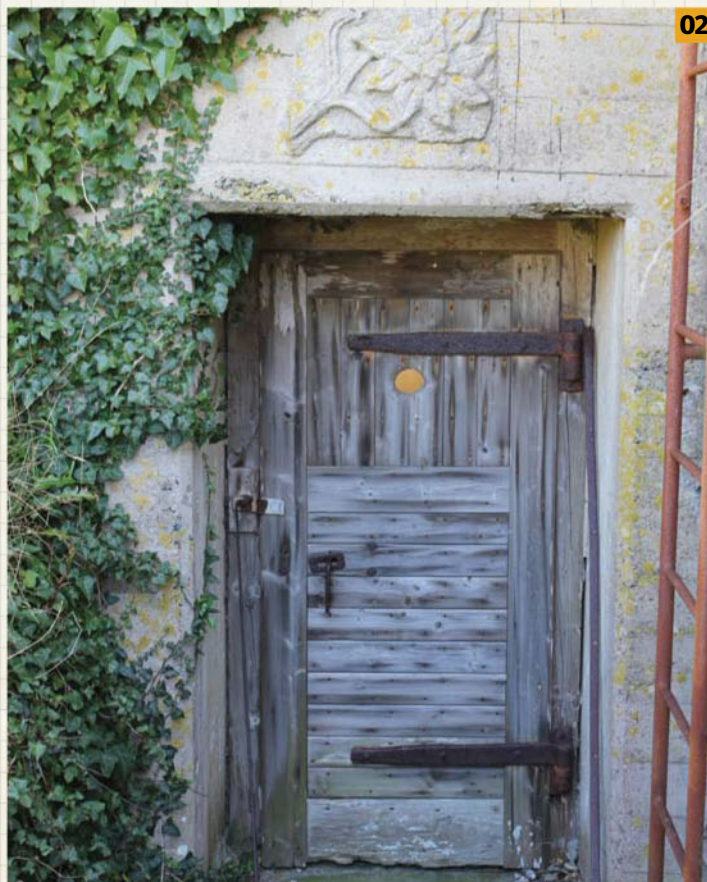
Work is currently under way to restore and preserve these tangible, intact reminders of the island's military history. But while a similar project on the mainland would inevitably get bound up in red tape and over-the-top health and safety regulations, an emphasis in Alderney is being placed on maintaining the 'hands-on' approach, with tunnels to scramble through, towers to scale, and trench networks to explore. For anyone with an intrepid nature and an interest in military history, this island is one large, informative, adventure playground.

I flew into Alderney's tiny airport on a brilliant yellow Trislander plane on a beautifully sunny day this spring. I was on the second of the two daily flights from Southampton airport. The

view from the plane, aside from being magnificent on a clear day, gives you a great indication not only of the size of the island, but also of its close proximity to northern France. Already I got a feel for why this island, when occupied by the Nazis on 2 July 1940, would have made the British government nervous.

I arrived late afternoon and was met by Martin Batt, a representative from Alderney Living History, who are hoping to promote the island's wildlife and history to new audiences. It was to action straight away with Martin, as we drove to explore some WWII coastal defences and get the lay of the land – where Alderney is in relation to the islands of Guernsey and Sark, both of which were also occupied by the Nazis, and where the heaviest fortifications had been built.

I was struck instantly by how these fortifications overlapped. Sat in the crater of what was once a German 15cm gun emplacement at Batterie Annes, I could see further down the coast the magnificent structure of Fort Clonque, built in the 19th century, when French naval power was becoming an increasing concern to the British. These intertwining histories,



02



03

separated by centuries but similar in narrative, were fascinating to explore.

After my introduction – and feeling suitably wowed – I was left to my own devices with the promise of two more days' research on a rented bike, beginning the following morning.

LAYERS OF HISTORY

What made the greatest impact on me, as Martin took me round the island's sights over the next couple of days, was the visible 'layering' of history here. There was something hugely exciting about scrambling around the ruins of the beautifully designed Fort Tourgis, completed in 1855, and seeing how the Nazis had utilised it for their own ends.

Beneath this extensive fort, the Nazis had constructed a tunnel, which passes under the Victorian wall and enters the fort through the former magazine of Cambridge Battery. It enabled easy access between the fort and the gun bunkers outside, as well as providing a shorter route from the fort to Platte Saline and beyond. It is a perfect example of how the Nazis adapted the island's already impressive defences nearly 100 years down the line. Sadly, evidence of the Germans' legacy on the island is not always so subtle.

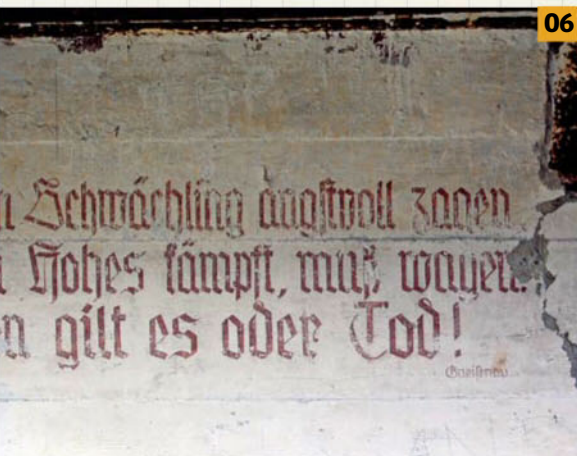
The dull, grey concrete plastered by the Germans over all their bunkers, fortifications, and look-out points has left an unsightly but slowly eroding



04



05



06



07



08

in as forced labour to build Hitler's *Atlantikwall* ('Atlantic Wall'). These labourers were housed in four camps: Lagers Helgoland, Norderney, Borkum, and Sylt.

The infamous concentration camp Lager Sylt (near Telegraph Tower), under the control of SS Construction Brigade 1 from March 1943, had been previously used by the Organization Todt (OT) to house Russian and other forced labourers. By 1943, the total number of forced labourers on the island was over 4,000.

The area has become a divisive talking point, with many islanders wanting to erase the site completely and with it the disturbing memory of that chapter in history. Others believe that, disturbing as it is to see the grates in the floor leading to underground cells in which prisoners were kept, or the confined space of the lavatories, the remaining objects are of historic importance and interest. I certainly found the space eerie and, in a morbid way, fascinating.

THE 'NUNNERY'

An absolute highpoint for me on the tour was visiting the Roman fort, or 'The Nunnery' as it is known. The site epitomises the way that strategically important positions on Alderney have

PICTURED ON BOTH PAGES:

1. The access hatch to the used-cartridge store under the larger 4.7cm Pak K 36 (t) bunker on Bibette Head.
2. The Edelweiss symbol above the intact wooden entrance door to the twin MG bunker at the 'Nunnery' Roman fort (Resistance nest Piratenschloss) covering Longis Bay.
3. Iron fireplace with VR and Bureau of Ordnance insignia at Fort Houmet Herbé (not used by the Germans).
4. Concrete trench system for the semi-circular MG and 5cm mortar position overlooking Fort Houmet Herbé.
5. 88mm Flak emplacement, part of the six-gun battery Höhe 145 at Mannez Garenne.
6. Patriotic inscription adjacent to the entrance of the 10.5cm K 331 (f) gun bunker at the north end of Strongpoint Josephsburg, constructed within Victorian Fort Grosnez, at the landward end of the Breakwater.
7. Entrance gorge for the Dezimetergerät fortress standard radio bunker at Quatre Vents on the southern cliffs.
8. Rooftop gun emplacements above the soldiers' quarters at the Victorian Fort Grosnez, with the 900m Breakwater in the background. The roof also mounted two 20mm Flak guns during WWII.

been adopted and reused during each wave of fortifications on the island.

The Nunnery is the first evidence of military construction in Alderney and, after recent archaeological investigation, is believed to be almost certainly Roman in origin. In addition, the fort was used during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, as a hospital and married quarters in Victorian times, and was converted into a German strongpoint during the Second World War.

Throughout the two-day tour of Alderney, my tour guide Martin Batt was extremely helpful and informative, explaining each site in great detail and relating them to other points of interest we had seen. I can highly recommend contacting Alderney Living Island, when visiting the island, and organising a tour with them.

Individual research can be undertaken at the Alderney Museum, guided tours of which can also be arranged with the Alderney Society. Alternatively, talk to anyone involved »

blemish on the island. Cycling down picturesque country lanes, I noticed the ever-present machine-gun posts placed at knee-cap height to cut down or at least intimidate any unwanted visitors. So numerous were these posts, that pointing out each 'machine-gun welcome' became a running joke.

The German occupation of the Channel Islands was of huge significance for the Nazi propaganda machine. One of the reasons the Nazis invested so much in the fortification of Alderney was that Hitler was convinced the British would attempt to recapture the island at the earliest opportunity. Mountbatten, for one, was very keen on the idea of retaking

the island, especially as the civilian population had been evacuated before the Nazis arrived.

GERMAN IMPACT

Speaking to some islanders, you get the feeling that this enforced evacuation is still very much a sore point 75 years on. Large family homes were destroyed as the Germans ripped up wooden floorboards for fuel and helped themselves to personal belongings. Examples of the Nazis' presence are everywhere.

One particularly controversial example is the site of the island's prisoner-of-war camp, established by the Nazis to hold PoWs shipped



09

in the many societies and clubs on the island. Everyone I met seemed to have encyclopaedic knowledge of the island's history and heritage!

One such man was Richard Proctor, the enormously welcoming manager of the Braye Beach Hotel. I stayed two nights at this beautiful spot, and Richard was always around for a chat about the history of the island and the work being done to restore the various defences. If you come here, Braye Beach should be your hotel

and restaurant of choice after a long day of climbing bunkers and crawling through secret tunnels.

This was a hugely enjoyable trip, during which I learned a great deal about this little-known island's rich military history. If you have an interest in how the fortifications of the past have been overtaken and adapted by various military occupiers, and if you enjoy the sort of tour that allows you to get your hands dirty, a trip to Alderney must be a top priority. •



10

VISITING ALDERNEY

HOW: Either a 45-minute flight from Southampton Airport, or take one of the regular ferries from Guernsey. Scheduled sea links are also available from France.

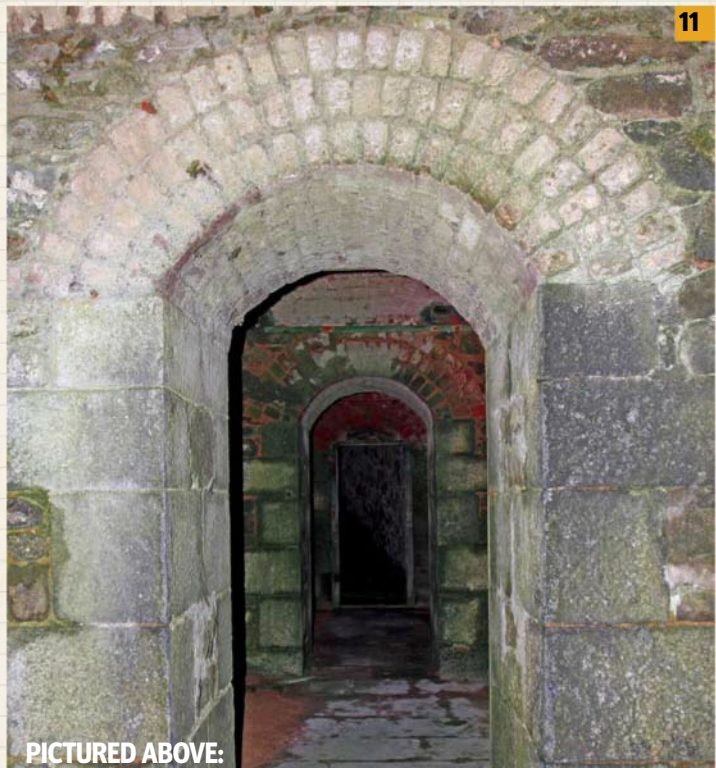
WHEN: Winters can be windy and cold. Spring/summer is the ideal time to visit, as there are large stretches of beach perfect for snorkelling or surfing.

WHERE: There are a few hotels and B&Bs on the island, with the Braye Beach Hotel the top recommendation for sea views, excellent food, and a relaxing stay all round.

WHAT: There is a lot to cover on the island, with a military history tour topping the list. The island is also well known for its stunning wildlife. The Alderney Wildlife Trust organises regular tours and excursions.

MORE INFORMATION:

www.alderneylivingislands.com
www.alderneysociety.org

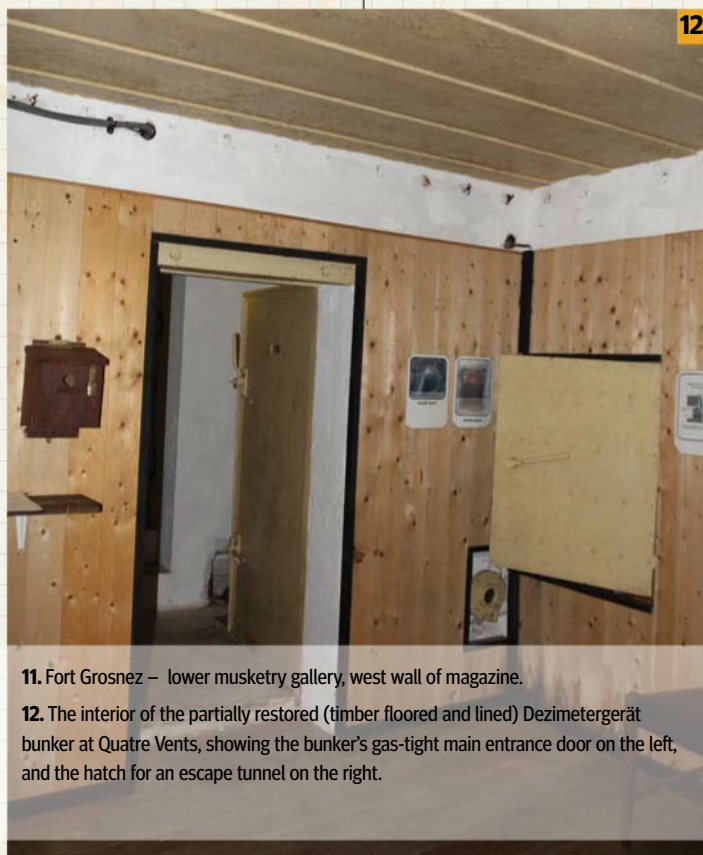


11

PICTURED ABOVE:

9. The surviving entrance-gate pillars for Lager Sylt, near the southern perimeter of the airport. Sylt was the only SS concentration camp on British soil, and is currently under discussion as a conservation area by the States of Alderney.

10. View over Crabby Bay and Platte Saline from the west, facing Type 670 casemate, mounting a 10.5cm K 331 (f) gun, removed from the Maginot line in France to the Atlantic Wall.



12

11. Fort Grosnez – lower musketry gallery, west wall of magazine.

12. The interior of the partially restored (timber floored and lined) Dezimetergerät bunker at Quatre Vents, showing the bunker's gas-tight main entrance door on the left, and the hatch for an escape tunnel on the right.

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EVENT

THE FLYING LEGENDS AIR SHOW

11-12 July 2015

● IWM Duxford
Cambridgeshire
CB22 4QR

🌐 www.flyinglegends.com
☎ 01223 835000

£31.05
ENTRY

This event is famous for its unique presentations of historic piston-engined aircraft in rare combinations. Complementing the 'wow' factor in the air is the event's authentic 1940s atmosphere. The 'balbo', a massed-formation finale featuring many of the aircraft that have taken part in the flying display, is a world-renowned spectacle.

RECITAL



£15
ENTRY

WOMEN'S POETRY IN THE GREAT WAR

3 July 2015

● Royal College of Nursing
Library and Heritage Centre
20 Cavendish Square
London, W1G 0RN
🌐 www.rcn.org.uk
☎ 0345 772 6100

Although war poetry has been extremely popular, women's poetry relating the experiences of the First World War has been seriously neglected. This performance includes work by women poets of different backgrounds, all of whom made their voices heard at a catastrophic time. Their poems explore the experiences of nursing the wounded; of loss, pain, hopes, and dreams. The live music played throughout the concert will add an extra dimension to the poetry. The performance will be followed by a drinks reception.

WORKSHOP

FAMILY HISTORY DROP-IN SURGERIES

6 July 2015

● The Archives Discovery Museum
Blandford Square
Newcastle & Gateshead
NE1 4JA
☎ 0191 277 2248
🌐 www.twmuseums.org.uk

As part of the 'War Life 1914-18: Tyne & Wear in the First World War' project, the Archives

will be opening their search room on the first Monday of every month.

Volunteers will help you with your family history research during free drop-in sessions. Got a genealogy problem? Bring it along. If they cannot solve it on the day, book an in-depth mentoring session.

Take the opportunity to browse through a selection of their best family history records, which are guaranteed to interest the genealogy enthusiast.



EVENT



LARGE MODEL AIRCRAFT RALLY

18-19 July 2015

- RAF Cosford
Shifnal
Shropshire, TF11 8UP
- www.rafmuseum.org.uk
- 01902 376200

£8
ENTRY

Taking place on the airfield, this famous air show in miniature is an absolute must for any aviation enthusiast. The 2015 Rally will mark the 75th anniversary of the Battle of Britain.

Visitors will be able to see a wide range of models designed, built, and flown by members of the Large Model Association, from biplanes to modern-day jets. Seen in the skies from a distance, the models look like the real thing!

LECTURE



£10
ENTRY

DUNKIRK: FROM DISASTER TO DELIVERANCE - TESTIMONIES OF THE LAST SURVIVORS

16 July 2015

- Army & Navy Club
36-39 Pall Mall
London, SW1Y 5 JN
- www.nam.ac.uk
- 020 7881 6600

Continuing the National Army Museum's 'Celebrity Speaker' series, author and cultural historian Sinclair McKay will talk about the extraordinary and often-harrowing stories of Dunkirk veterans, and the brave crews of the Little Ships that rescued them. He will also throw revealing light on what was happening back in Britain as the evacuation took place.

RE-ENACTMENT



MEDIEVAL SUMMER FUN

31 July 2015

- Boston Guildhall Museum
South Street
Lincolnshire, PE21 6HT
- www.knightssofskirbeck.co.uk
- 01205 368134

FREE
ENTRY

The Knights of Skirbeck are coming back to the magnificent 15th-century Guildhall, with hands-on displays of clothes, games, crafts, armour, and weapons from the medieval period. Come to see what your ancestors ate, how they dressed, played, and fought.

DATES TO REMEMBER

5 JULY

Military pageant with WWI commemoration airshow

The Shuttleworth Collection
Old Warden Park
Bedfordshire, SG18 9EP
www.shuttleworth.org

This event is dedicated to recognising the contribution of Britain's Armed Forces, past and present. The collection is home to the largest and most impressive array of genuine, airworthy First World War aircraft in Europe.

11 JULY

Model Boat Weekend

Action Stations
Portsmouth Historic Dockyard
Portsmouth, PO1 3LJ
www.historicdockyard.co.uk

Action Stations is proud again to host the model boat weekend, now in its third year. It involves a static display of various model boats, and an opportunity to meet group members.

17 JULY

Sepoy's Salute

Big Brum Theatre in
Education Company
Turnhouse Road
Birmingham, B35 6PR
www.bigbrum.org.uk

This play and associated workshops allow young people to explore concepts of duty, service, and freedom, in the context of a conflict that saw the mass movement of people across the globe, and the beginning of the end of the British Empire.

EXHIBITION

DEATH AT A DISTANCE

Throughout July

- National Roman Legion Museum
Newport, Wales, NP18 1AE
- www.museumwales.ac.uk/roman
- 0300 111 2333

FREE
ENTRY

Since the dawn of time, humans have looked for the best way to kill each other. This small exhibition looks at the development of artillery warfare, from the bow and arrows of the ancient world to the machine-gun and heavy artillery of the First World War. It also considers the psychological and physical impact of these weapons of death.





Image: Emma Townshend

AVONCROFT MUSEUM OF HISTORIC BUILDINGS

Avoncroft Museum near Bromsgrove is an award-winning museum that saves endangered buildings and rebuilds them in beautiful 19 acre grounds in rural Worcestershire.

Exhibits include a working 19th century windmill, a medieval town house, a

fully-furnished 1940s prefab, and a corrugated iron Victorian church. The museum is also home to the National Telephone Kiosk Collection and a traditional cider and perry orchard.

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Avoncroft is within a few minutes drive of the M5, M42 and M40 and there is a large, free car park for museum visitors. There is also an award-winning tea room for drinks, light lunches, and delicious afternoon teas, plus a museum shop with a great range of gifts, books, cards, and souvenirs.

ADDRESS: Redditch Road, Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, B60 4JR
TEL: 01527 831363
EMAIL: officemanager@avoncroft.org.uk
WEB: www.avoncroft.org.uk

OPENING TIMES
Tuesday - Sunday, 10.30am - 5pm
Please see our website for winter opening times (November - February)



DAD'S ARMY MUSEUM

The museum is located in Thetford Guildhall which featured as Walmington-on-Sea Town Hall in the classic BBC series. For nine years *Dad's Army* was filmed in and around Thetford, and the museum seeks to tell the

story of the programme, its links with Thetford, and the real Home Guard. The museum features its own Church Hall area, Swallow Bank gift shop, and Marigold Tearooms. You can even have your photo taken in the 'Vicar's Office' if our resident Captain Mainwaring allows!

The museum features some more information about the forthcoming new film due for release in 2016.

The nearby full-size bronze statue of Captain Mainwaring is a must see, as is the original Jones's Van housed in the town's Charles Burrell Museum. Guided walks of the Thetford locations can be booked via the website and a self-guided trail is available from the museum or Thetford's great Information Centre.

ADDRESS: The Old Fire Station, The Guildhall, Cage Lane, Thetford, Norfolk, IP24 1DS
TEL: Thetford's Great Information Centre 01842 751975
EMAIL: info@dadsarmythetford.org.uk
WEB: www.dadsarmythetford.org.uk

OPENING TIMES
Saturdays Easter to end of November, 10am - 3pm
Tuesdays in July, August, September & school holidays (Easter to November), 10am - 3pm
Saturdays in August, 10am - 4pm



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This museum offers a new perspective on the Great War, for a better understanding of the world today.

Housing a collection unparalleled anywhere in Europe, the Museum of the Great War in Meaux, 50km from Paris, offers a new vision of the first worldwide conflict (1914-1918) through innovative scenography illustrating the great changes and upheavals in society that resulted from it. A remarkable heritage to be handed on to future generations. A museum of history and society to help learn of past hardships and build tomorrow's world.

ADDRESS: Museum of the Great War, rue Lazare, Ponticelli 77100
TEL: +33(0)1 60 32 14 18
WEB: www.museedelagrandeguerre.eu

OPENING TIMES:
Open every day except Tuesday and 1st May, 25 December from 9.30am - 6pm.



TILBURY FORT

Explore English Heritage's Tilbury Fort on the Thames estuary, protector of London's seaward approach from the 16th century through to the Second World War.

Originally built by Henry VIII, and the spot where Queen Elizabeth I famously rallied her army to face the threat of the Spanish Armada, the present fort is one of the best examples of its type in England.

Delve into the magazine houses used to store vast quantities of gunpowder, and enter the underground passages to feel what it was like for the soldiers who lived here. Discover the fort's colourful past in our exhibition.

ADDRESS: Tilbury Fort, No 2 Office Block, The Fort, Tilbury, Essex, RM18 7NR
TEL: 01375 858 489

WEB: www.english-heritage.org.uk
OPENING TIMES
See website for details.

GUIDE

WITH HUNDREDS OF MILITARY MUSEUMS IN THE UK ALONE, HOW DO YOU KNOW WHICH ONE WILL BEST SUIT YOUR INTERESTS? HERE, *MHM* HAS PICKED SOME OF THE BEST MUSEUMS AND EXHIBITIONS TO VISIT THIS YEAR, FROM HIDDEN GEMS TO LONG-ESTABLISHED SITES.



CHESHIRE MILITARY MUSEUM

The Cheshire Military Museum in Chester tells the story of the Cheshire Soldiers from the 17th Century right through to the present day.

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The museum also houses the archive of the Cheshire Regiment, providing information on people who have served with the Cheshire Regiment.

ADDRESS: The Castle, Chester,
Cheshire, CH1 2DN
TEL: 01244 327617
EMAIL: enquiries@cheshiremilitarymuseum.co.uk

WEB: www.cheshiremilitarymuseum.co.uk
OPENING TIMES
Open daily 10am – 5pm (last admission 4pm)



MÉMORIAL DU SOUVENIR

Dunkirk, the last town to be liberated in 1945, was also the focal point of Operation Dynamo at the beginning of the Second World War. It was an operation that resulted in the evacuation of 340,000 allied soldiers from France to England.

The Mémorial du Souvenir Historical Centre will give you the opportunity to relive the incredible story of this massive operation that turned Dunkirk into a symbol of the Second World War.

To tell this incredible story, the Mémorial du Souvenir Historical Centre utilises a large collection of contemporary photographs, cards, and military equipment, enabling visitors to get a better grasp of this important episode in world history.

ADDRESS: Courtines du Bastion 32,
Rue des Chantiers de France, 59140
Dunkerque, A16 exit 60
TEL: +33 (0)3 28 26 27 81
EMAIL: production@ot-dunkerque.fr

WEB: www.dynamo-dunkerque.com
OPENING TIMES
Open from 1 April - 30 September
From 10am - 12pm and from 2pm – 5pm
(local time)

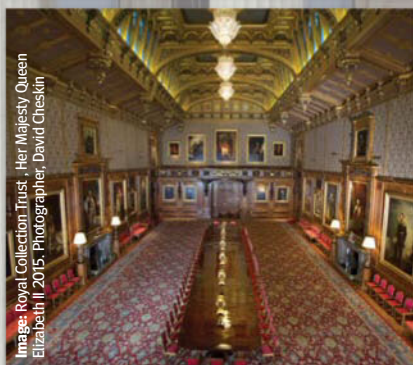


Image: Royal Collection Trust. Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015. Photographer: David Cheskin

WINDSOR CASTLE

To mark the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, 'Waterloo at Windsor: 1815–2015' combines a themed trail through the State Apartments at Windsor Castle with a display of prints, drawings, and archival material that explores the battle and its aftermath.

The trail includes fascinating objects seized on the battlefield, including silver, furniture, weapons, and the beautiful red cloak belonging to Napoleon, presented to George IV by Wellington's ally, Field-Marshal Gebhardt von Blücher. Visitors can also admire the Waterloo Chamber, created by George IV in celebration of the allied victory, a grand space filled with portraits of those instrumental in the victory, among them the Duke of Wellington.

A souvenir map and guide which shows the trail through the State Apartments, a timeline of the major events from the battle, and highlights of the objects on display is available free with a Windsor Castle Official Souvenir Guide. Exhibition open 31 January 2015 – 13 January 2016.

ADDRESS: Windsor Castle, Windsor,
Windsor and Maidenhead SL4 1NJ
TEL: 020 7766 7304
EMAIL: bookinginfo@royalcollection.org.uk

WEB: www.royalcollection.org.uk
OPENING TIMES:
9.45am-5.15pm (last admission 4pm)



IN FLANDERS FIELDS MUSEUM

A 'must see' is the award-winning 'In Flanders Fields Museum' in the Ypres Cloth hall. This is the sort of museum you can visit time and time again, and still find something new.

It narrates the invasion of Belgium and the first months of the war of movements, and the subsequent four years of trench warfare. The scenography focuses on the human experience in the war, on the personal testimonial of the war experience. To increase the experience even more, every visitor receives a 'poppy' bracelet on arrival.

From 4 April till 30 August 2015, the museum is organising an historical double exhibition about the first gas attack in history that took place on April 1915: 'GAS! The Second Battle of Ypres' / 'DREAM CASTLES'. Previously unseen film material, clarifying overviews and documentaries illustrate the second year of the war as part of the centenary commemorations of Ypres and the front region.

ADDRESS: In Flanders Fields Museum,
Cloth Hall – Grote Markt 34,
B – 8900 Ypres
TEL: +32(0)57.239.220
EMAIL: flandersfields@ieper.be
WEB: www.inlandersfields.be

OPENING TIMES
1 April - 15 November every day from
10am-6pm
16 November - 31 March Tuesday to Sunday
from 10am-5pm
Ticket sale stops one hour before closing

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

ON SALE 9 JULY

NEWARK UNDER SIEGE

To mark the opening of the new National Civil War Centre in the town, we use the example of Newark, with the best-preserved Civil War defences in Britain, to analyse siege warfare in the mid 17th century.

ALSO NEXT ISSUE:

- Japan, the warrior spirit, and the experience of defeat
- Hiroshima and Nagasaki
- Zeppelins and fighters

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Battlefields of KwaZulu-Natal

A superb expert-guided small group tour, including door-to-door transfers†



As we follow in the footsteps of the historic Battlefields of KwaZulu-Natal, expert guides recount the struggles between Zulu warriors, Boer guerillas and British redcoats. Contrast this with the green rolling countryside of 'the garden province' and the Drakensberg Mountains. Experience the excitement in the search for the 'Big Five', and stay in a living museum. This captivating tour also guarantees small groups, a maximum of 14.

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Tour ref: KZN

Day 1 London - In flight. Titan's VIP Home Departure Service® collects you from home, for your journey to London Heathrow Airport. Flight to Johannesburg.

Day 2 Johannesburg - Rustenberg. Morning arrival into Johannesburg, transfer to the exclusive Kedar Country Lodge, for two nights. Home to a wide variety of game.

Day 3 Rustenberg. Morning at leisure. Or optional game drive in the Pilanesberg National Park. Afternoon historical Anglo-Boer War talk and museum visit.

Day 4 Rustenberg - Winterton. We travel to Spion Kop Lodge for two nights, set against the backdrop of the majestic Drakensberg Mountains.

Day 5 Spion Kop Battlefield. Morning tour to Spion Kop Battlefield; site of the most futile and probably the bloodiest battle of the Anglo-Boer War. Relive the memories and walk in the footsteps of three great leaders. Afternoon at leisure.

Day 6 Winterton - Drakensberg. Leisurely drive to our hotel, nestled in the untouched surroundings of the Drakensberg mountain range, a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Day 7 Drakensberg. Visit Falcons Ridge Bird of Prey Centre, listen to informative talks and see magnificent birds.

Day 8 Drakensberg - Durban. We travel towards Durban today, via Howick Falls. We check in to our hotel, the Southern Sun Elangeni for one night.

Day 9 Durban - Shakaland. Brief city tour, visit the Botanic Gardens, before heading to the cultural village and living museum of Shakaland. Relive the excitement of the days of Shaka - the most influential King of the Zulu Kingdom.

Day 10 Shakaland - St Lucia - KwaZulu. Depart for St Lucia and the iSimangaliso Wetland Park, to enjoy a boat cruise. Continue to Amakhosi Lodge, a private 'Big Five' game reserve.



Day 11 KwaZulu. Early morning game drive in open vehicles in search of the 'Big Five', time at leisure at the lodge before continuing our search as we return to the reserve for more wildlife viewing.

Day 12 KwaZulu - Isandlwana. Early morning game drive before departing for Isandlwana Lodge, carved into the side of Nyoni Rock, with magnificent views.

Day 13 Isandlwana. Today we visit the two main battle sites of the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 - Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift. Accompanied by an historian we will recount the story of the battles that took place.

Day 14 Isandlwana - Johannesburg - In flight. Morning at leisure, transfer to Johannesburg Airport, flight to London.

Day 15 London. Arrival at London Heathrow Airport where you will be met and guided to your Titan vehicle, for the journey home.

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 - Visit to Howick Falls
 - City tour of Durban, including visit and cream tea at Durban Botanic Gardens
 - Shakaland experience and cultural show
 - Boat cruise in iSimangaliso Wetland Park
 - 2 x open-vehicle game drives at Amakhosi private game reserve
 - Visit to Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift battle sites, with an historian

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COMPETITIONS

PUT YOUR MILITARY HISTORY KNOWLEDGE TO THE TEST WITH THE *MHM* QUIZ, CROSSWORD, AND CAPTION COMPETITION

MHM QUIZ

This month we have two new military history titles courtesy of Boydell & Brewer.

BRITANNIA AND THE BEAR

Victor Madeira

As early as 1920, British cabinet ministers were told that Bolshevik intelligence wanted to recruit university students from prominent families destined for government, professional, and intellectual circles. Despite these early warnings, men such as the Cambridge Five slipped the security

net 15 years after the alarm was first raised. *Britannia and the Bear* tells the story of Russian espionage in Britain in these critical interwar years, revealing how the British Government identified crucial lessons but failed to learn many of them. It underscores the importance of the first Cold War in understanding the second, as well as the need for historical perspective in interpreting the mind-sets of rival powers.

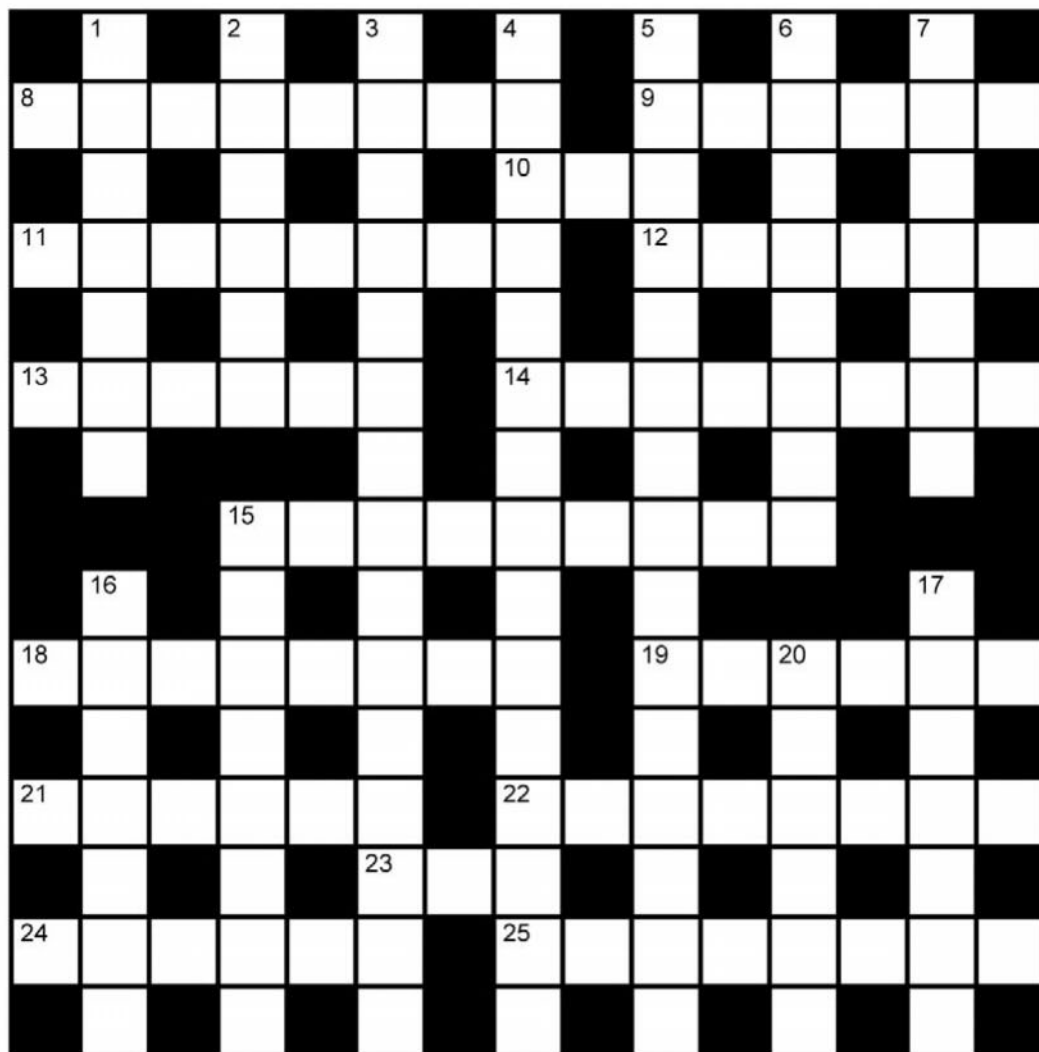
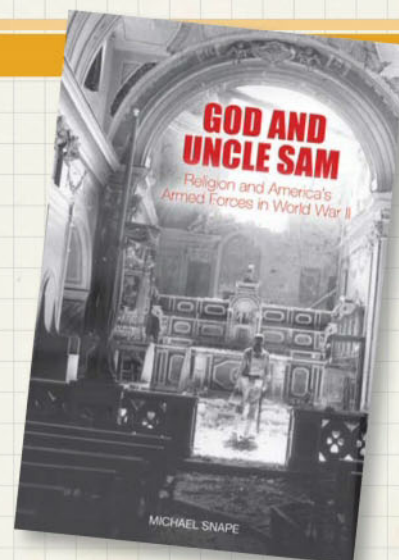
GOD AND UNCLE SAM

Michael Snape

America's armed forces were the products of one of the most diverse and dynamic religious cultures in the Western world, and were the largest ever to be raised by a professedly religious society. *God and Uncle Sam* shows that religion played a crucial role in helping more than 16 million uniformed

Americans through the ordeal of World War II, a fact that had profound and far-reaching implications for the religious development of post-war America.

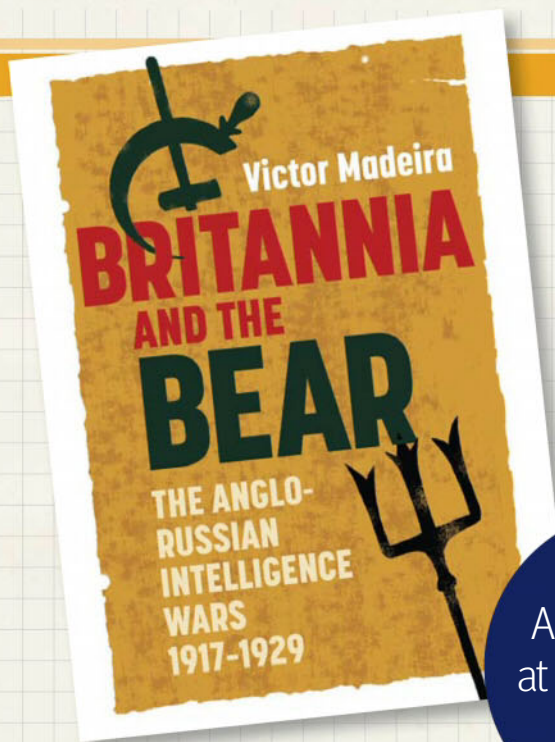
This timely and authoritative book draws on meticulous research in US archives, and is informed by contemporary films, photographs, posters, and sound recordings. It features many striking illustrations.



MHM CROSSWORD No 58

ACROSS

- 8** British Prime Minister during the Zulu War in 1879 (8)
- 9** ___ House, Lancashire, besieged by Parliamentary forces from February to May 1644 (6)
- 10** ___ West, nickname for a life jacket, especially used by US forces of World War II (3)
- 11** Type of soldier trained to carry out specialised raids, such as amphibious landings (8)
- 12** Persian king who invaded Greece in 480 BC (6)
- 13** Catherine de ___, powerful figure during the French Wars of Religion (6)
- 14** Mervyn ___, British major, 3rd Parachute Battalion, awarded the Military Cross for action at Arnhem (8)
- 15** French general and commander-in-chief of William III's troops in Ireland, killed at the Battle of the Boyne (9)
- 18** Army that defeated the Austrians in July 1866 at the Battle of Königgrätz (8)



Answer online
at www.military-history.org

To be in with a chance of winning,
simply answer the following question:

? In which year was the USSR declared officially dissolved?

A JUNE ISSUE | MHM 57

ANSWERS

ACROSS: 7 Mohican, 8 Arsenal, 10 Air Chief Marshal, 11 Bayreuth, 12 Healey, 13 Scharnhorst, 18 Sabres, 20 Sikh Wars, 22 Christmas Island, 23 Tallard, 24 Against.

DOWN: 1 Bolívar, 2 Pincer, 3 Caligula, 4 Armagh, 5 Persians, 6 Saracen, 9 Afghanistan, 14 Carlisle, 15 Oak Ridge, 16 Jarhead, 17 Ardnish, 19 Saturn, 21 Willis.

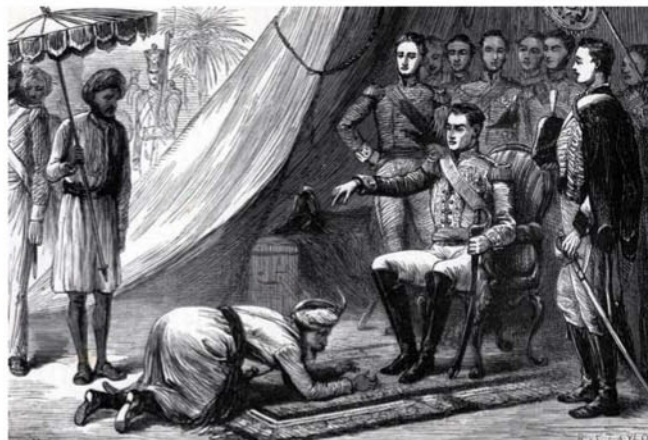
19 Dai ____ Teikoku Kaigun, the Imperial Japanese Navy from 1868 to 1945 (6)
21 Flammable sticky jelly used in bombs and flame-throwers (6)
22 ____ general, US rank equivalent to field marshal in the British Army (4-4)
23 ____ Cooper, British publisher specialising in military books who died in 2013 (3)
24 Mediterranean republic that defeated the Genoese in 1380 at the Battle of Chioggia (6)
25 Bronislaw ____, Polish general, CO of 2nd Armoured Brigade (Poland) in 1945 (8)

DOWN

1 French town besieged and sacked by the Black Prince in 1370 (7)
2 Chinese city that was the site of two battles in 1933-1934 during the Kumul Rebellion (6)
3 Leader of the SS from 1929 (8,7)

4 English nobleman, leader of a rebellion against Henry III, killed at the Battle of Evesham (5,2,8)
5 Russian prince who defeated the Teutonic Knights in 1242 at the Battle on the Ice (9,6)
6 British heavy bomber of World War II, built by Short Bros (8)
7 Kingdom of ancient Greece that defeated the Illyrians in 358 BC at the Battle of Erigon Valley (7)
15 Middle Eastern empire victorious over the Parthians in AD 224 at the Battle of Hormozdgan (8)
16 Timothy ____, British general, Commander-in-Chief, UK Land Forces in 1980 (7)
17 Native American people who fought with the British during the French and Indian War (7)
20 Office held by Baji Rao of the Maratha Empire when defeated by the British in 1818 (6)

MHM CAPTION COMPETITION



We continue our caption competition with an image from this month's feature on the Gurkhas. Pit your wits against other readers at www.military-history.org/competitions

LAST MONTH'S WINNER



WINNER:
This commode could stand a little downsizing.

Louise Cox

RUNNERS-UP

Orville, is it just me or is my new codpiece just a wee bit on the loose side?

Sean McCready

As the first out of the escape tunnel, PO Watkins immediately sensed something was wrong. He was in a submarine, whereas five minutes ago he was in Hut 2 of Stalag Luft IV.

Kevin Venters

Think you can do better?

Go head-to-head with other *MHM* readers for the chance to see your caption printed in the next issue. Enter now at www.military-history.org/competitions

ALL YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT...

The Roman Imperial Carroballista

CARROBA-WHAT?

Carroballista. A giant catapult or crossbow, mounted in a cart, that could be fired either from the cart or dismounted for extended use at a single location.

THAT SOUNDS PRETTY HIGH-TECH

It was. Seriously high-tech. So the Romans had carroballistae, but barbarians didn't.

Here are the basics. You had two springs formed of twisted hair, rope, or sinew. These were fixed in metal frames with an arrangement of washers and counterplates top and bottom, so they could be tightened (in action) or relaxed (at rest).

Bow-arms were inserted into each of the springs, and the frames were fixed to a long wooden stock. This had fixed and moving parts, so that a trigger-and-claw mechanism could be used to engage and withdraw the bowstring.

The weapon was primed by winching back the bowstring using a ratchet-and-pawl mechanism. This stored increased torsion-power in the springs.

When the bowstring was fully withdrawn, a bolt was placed in the stock, and the weapon could then be aimed and discharged.

ALL SEEMS A BIT CLEVER FOR THE ROMANS

You're right. They were, of course, invented by the Greeks. The Romans killed people and made laws. All the clever stuff was done by Greeks. Artillery was invented in the Greek city of Syracuse in 399 BC.

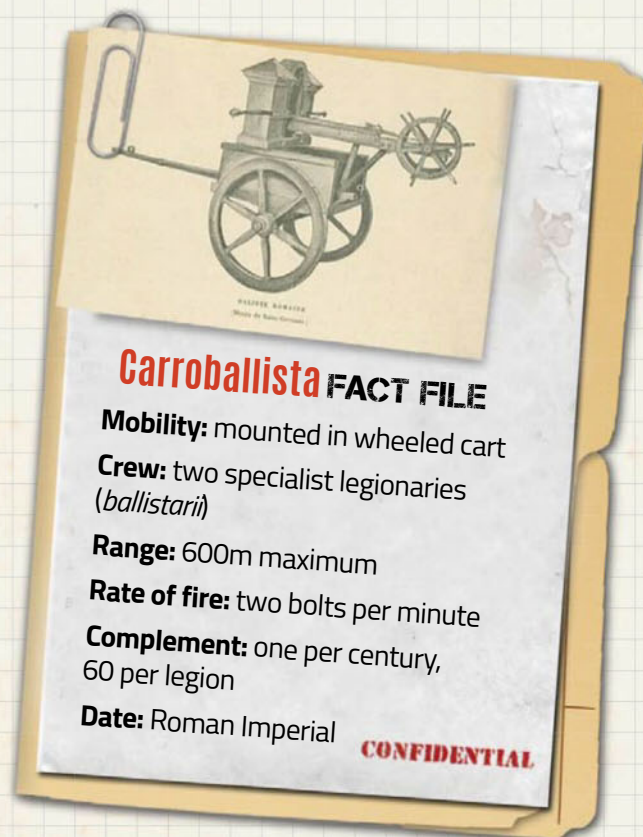
THERE CAN'T HAVE BEEN MANY OF THEM

Actually, there were. Every century in a legion had a carroballista – that meant 60 light field-guns supporting 5,000 infantry.

SO WHY WERE THEY SO GREAT?

Early models had a range of about 400m, roughly twice the effective range of the composite bow used by archers. Later models involved a revolutionary new design: inward-pointing instead of outward-pointing bow-arms. This new design may have added as much as 50 per cent to the range, with corresponding increases in velocity and armour-penetration.

The sequence of actions necessary to load, aim, and discharge a carroballista make a two-bolts-per-minute rate of fire likely. This would mean that a legion's full complement of light field-artillery might be able to generate a barrage of more than 100 bolts a minute.



TERRIFYING! HOW EFFECTIVE ARE WE TALKING?

Very. In one of Caesar's battles, a single bolt is reported to have pinned a cavalry commander to his horse and caused his men to flee in terror. At Maiden Castle, Mortimer Wheeler excavated the skeleton of a man who had a bolt, which had entered at the front, lodged in his spine. At the siege of Amida in AD 359, the son of the Persian king was killed by a deliberately aimed bolt that went right through his breastplate.

The range, rate of fire, whistling in flight, thudding on impact, and the force with which missiles struck made a Roman carroballista barrage very scary.



Battle of Dunkirk and Operation Dynamo museum



This museum is located in the fortifications that were built in 1874 to reinforce France's coastal defence. Bastion 32 served as the headquarters for the French and Allied forces during the Battle of Dunkirk and Operation Dynamo.

The Mémorial du Souvenir tells the incredible story of the battle and of the evacuation of more than 338.000 allied soldiers from the « Pocket of Dunkirk ».

In the museum, you will discover a rich exhibition of maps, pictures and both allied and German military material. Scale models of the sites of the operation, uniforms and weapons complete the collection.

A film using dramatic period footage, with a duration of approximately 15 minutes, gives an excellent overall view of the events of May-June 1940.

🕒 Open everyday from 10am to 5pm local time.

💶 2015 Admission Prices

Adults: €5.00 - Groups: €4.00 - School Groups: €3.50



Memorial du Souvenir

Courtines du Bastion 32

Rue des Chantiers de France - 59140 Dunkerque

A16 exit 60 - GPS : 51°2'46.31"N - 2°22'52.25"E

Bookings

Office de Tourisme

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production@ot-dunkerque.fr

www.dynamo-dunkerque.com



HISTORY

On the 10th May 1940, German army group B invaded Holland, Luxembourg and Belgium. In response, three allied armies were committed to the river Dyle to counter-attack. At the same time, German army group A burst through the Ardennes and advanced very quickly towards the French coast and the English Channel. By taking Boulogne sur Mer and Calais, the Germans succeeded in surrounding the allied troops in the so-called « sickle cut ».

Facing an enemy which was better equipped and which outnumbered the allied troops, retreat was the only option for the French armies and the British Expeditionary Force, that had been stationed on the continent since the beginning of the "Phoney War" in September 1939.

15 000 French and British troops defended a narrow perimeter to prevent the Germans from taking Dunkirk. Thanks to the sacrifices of these soldiers, a ragtag fleet of around 1400 mainly British, but also French, Belgian and Dutch ships, succeeded in rescuing more than 338 000 soldiers from the beaches and the eastern mole. On the 4th June, at dawn, the last ship left Dunkirk and the Germans entered the city that was in ruins. The success of the biggest evacuation in military history, a « Disaster turned to Triumph », gave a great boost to British morale, and is now seen as a major turning point of World War II.

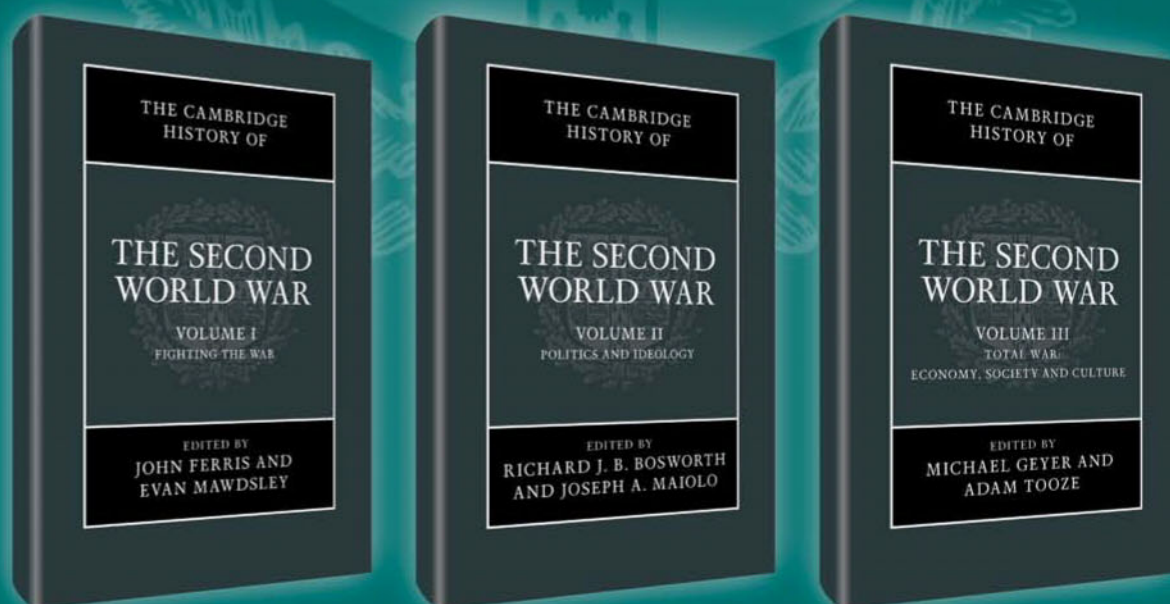
2015 marks the 75th anniversary of the battle of Dunkerque and Operation Dynamo. From 21st to 25th May 2015, around 50 'little ships' will return to Dunkirk.

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